

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

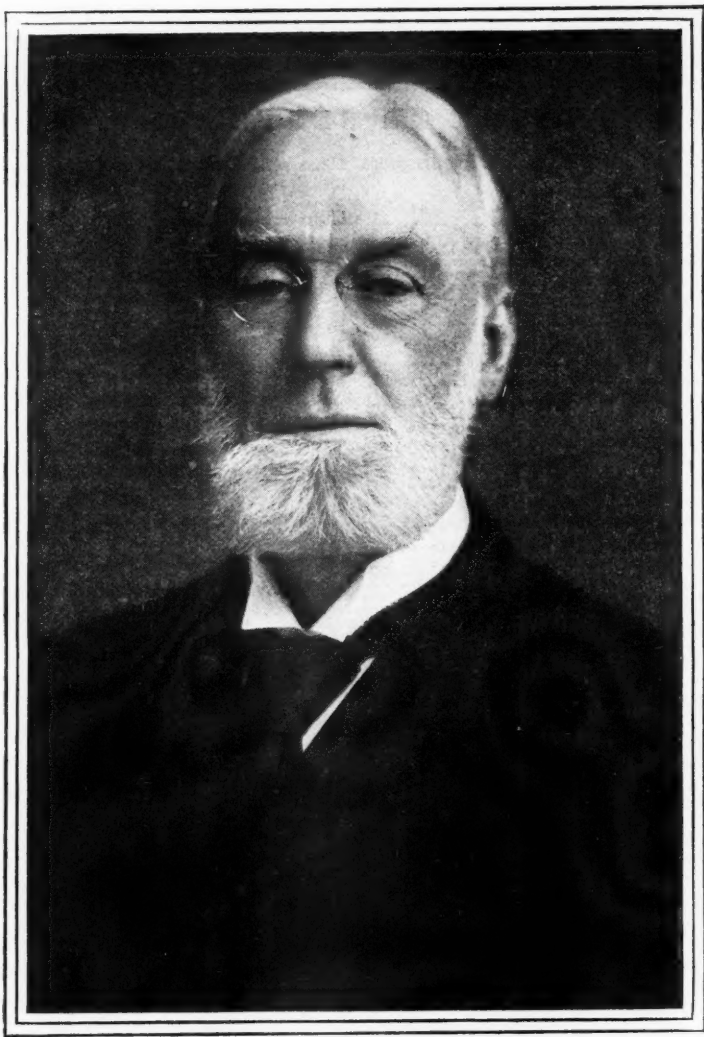
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1913

The Late Robert C. Ogden.....	Frontispiece	Record of Current Events.....	297
The Progress of the World—		<i>With portraits</i>	
Impeachment—An Unusual Process.....	259	Cartoons on Current Topics.....	301
Mr. Sulzer and the Larger Tammany.....	259	The Story of Harrington Emerson.....	305
The Beginnings of a Bitter War.....	260	BY HERBERT N. CASSON	
Trying to "Get" Sulzer.....	262	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>	
A Weak Point Found at Last.....	263	France a Centralized State.....	316
A Novel Kind of Charge.....	265	BY JESSE MACY	
Making Up the Indictment.....	266	<i>With portrait and other illustrations</i>	
Rival Governors and a Critical Dispute.....	267	The Men Around the Kaiser.....	321
The General Rule of the States.....	268	<i>With portraits</i>	
Common Misuse of a Word.....	269	The Pageant-Drama Revived.....	325
The Deadlock at Albany.....	271	BY SIDNEY M. HIRSCH	
The Struggling Forces in Politics.....	271	<i>With illustrations</i>	
The Great Municipal Contest.....	272	What the Pageant Does for Local History..	328
The Grind at Washington in Dog Days.....	272	BY HERBERT T. WADE	
The Currency Bill to Be Passed.....	273	<i>With illustrations</i>	
Some Aspects of the Tariff Debate.....	273	"The Invisible Government" Under Search-	
The Protracted Lobby Inquiry.....	274	light.....	334
Important Changes in the Parcel Post.....	275	BY JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN	
The Reduction of Express Rates.....	276	<i>With cartoons</i>	
The Crops and Trade.....	276	The Government, the People, and the Labor	
Rural Cooperation and Credit.....	277	Problem.....	339
Progressive Law-Making.....	277	BY PAUL U. KELLOGG	
The Paterson Strike.....	277	<i>With portraits</i>	
Railroad Arbitration.....	278	Yuan Shih-kai, Master of China.....	347
Elections This Year and to Come.....	279	BY CARL CROW	
President Wilson and Mexico.....	280	<i>With portrait</i>	
Should Huerta Be Recognized?.....	280	Leading Articles of the Month—	
Efforts to Stop Civil Warfare.....	281	The Popular Magazines and Reviews....	352
John Lind as a Strong Personality.....	281	Where Do the Indians Come From?.....	353
Mexico's Interest in Our Attitude.....	282	How Alaska's Religious Needs Are Supplied	354
Chaos South of the Rio Grande.....	282	An Argentine Opinion of the United States	357
As to European Recognition of Huerta....	282	The Balkan Complications and Russia's	
Prospects of an Election.....	283	War Preparations.....	358
Some Facts from the Canadian Census....	284	The Modernness of Bulgarian Literature...	361
Are We to "Protect" Nicaragua?.....	284	The Founder of Toynbee Hall.....	363
Endorsement of the Bryan Peace Plan....	284	Höfding, Denmark's Foremost Thinker...	365
A New Castro Revolt—Colombian Amenities	285	Heliopolis, "A Suburban Miracle".....	366
Argentina and American Beef Packers....	285	The Romance of the Tartar Wyclif.....	368
Bills in the British Parliament.....	285	Coöperation in Italy.....	369
"Votes for Women" Campaign.....	286	The I. W. W. and Revolution.....	370
Britain's Naval Program.....	286	A Proposed Cure for Epilepsy.....	371
French Finances.....	286	Hay Fever a Form of Anaphylaxia.....	372
End of the Krupp Scandal in Germany....	287	Volcanoes and Climate.....	373
Victory of the Dutch Liberals.....	287	The Minimum Wage and Emergency Em-	
The Dutch Centenary.....	288	ployment.....	375
The Bohemian Constitution Suspended....	289	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>	
The Strike in Italian Cities.....	289	The New Books.....	377
End of the Second Balkan War.....	289	Financial News for the Investor.....	382
Is It a Peace or Only a Truce?.....	292		
The Barren Fourth Duma.....	292		
"Hunger Hooliganism" and Its Causes....	293		
Does Yuan Shih-kai Aim at a Crown?....	293		
A New Japanese Note.....	294		
Strike in the Rand Mines.....	294		
The New Liberal Government in Australia	295		
<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>			

TERMS:—Issued monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico and the Philippines. Elsewhere, \$4.00. Entered as Second Class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions to the English Review or Reviews, which is edited and published in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York



THE LATE ROBERT CURTIS OGDEN

Robert C. Ogden, who died at his summer home in Maine on August 6, was in his seventy-eighth year, having been born in Philadelphia on June 20, 1836. His active life was spent in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, in both of which he filled a place of prominence and of leadership in good causes and movements. He retired from his long business association with Mr. John Wanamaker about seven years ago, on account of impaired health. His activities in philanthropic and educational work did not cease, however, until the end came last month. This magazine in a future issue will more fully set forth the great qualities and noble achievements of this large-moulded, unselfish, ever-generous servant of his fellow-men. As president of the board of trustees of the Hampton Institute, he had long been identified with the best efforts for the progress of the negro race. He had also from the beginning been a leading figure in the work of the Southern Education Board, the annual Conferences on Education in the South, and the General Education Board. His private beneficences were as constant and varied as his public and better-known services were unrelenting and free from personal ambition or self-seeking.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. XLVIII

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1913

No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Impeachment—
An Unusual
Process*

Only one President of the United States has ever faced trial under impeachment charges, and he was acquitted. Impeachment of executive officers in England became obsolete a hundred years ago. Out of many hundreds of men who have served as elected Governors of our States, only one has ever been duly convicted and removed from office under impeachment charges. This was the case of Governor David Butler, of Nebraska, in the year 1871. He was accused of an improper use of State money—the diversion of a small amount of the public funds for his own private benefit—and was found guilty and removed from office, having been acquitted upon each of a number of other charges preferred against him. It has always been recognized that extreme hostility between a high executive officer and a legislature might arrive at the point where, for political or other reasons, the law-making body would persuade itself that its fight against a Governor or President ought to culminate in impeachment proceedings. Probably no intelligent student of history to-day believes that President Johnson ought to have been convicted by the Senate in 1868; yet so strong were the political and personal antagonisms of that day that there was lacking only one vote of the necessary two-thirds to have removed him from office. There would have been better ground for impeaching James Buchanan, and there was much talk of it; but it would have been politically impossible unless at the very end of his term. Both Johnson and Buchanan were high-minded and honorable men, so that there could have been no grounds of impeachment except those that we may term "political" in the broad sense, as distinguished from personal malfeasance and misconduct. There were several attempts at removal of Southern Governors in the reconstruction period, and one attempt in Kansas

*Governors
Versus
Legislatures*

in 1862. These instances arose out of abnormal political conditions, and have little importance as precedents.

A President or a Governor represents the great body of the people by whose votes he has won his high office. Most members of the popular legislative body are individually obscure; and at best they represent small local constituencies. A legislature is often dominated by a political machine or boss, and where it is engaged in a fight against the Governor its course may be wholly directed by some political hand outside of the body itself. A Governor—in common experience—is a more responsible servant and representative of the people of the State than is the lower branch of the legislature. This remark applies particularly to States where the party system prevails, and where the legislature is controlled by a Republican or Democratic machine organization. In a contest, therefore, between a Governor and a legislature, the chances are that public opinion will side with the Governor. The administration of Governor Sulzer, of New York, began with the 1st day of January, 1913, and it has been marked by a fierce and continuous struggle between him and a legislature of his own party. In this contest, with its almost innumerable points at issue, the Governor has been almost invariably right and the Legislature has been almost invariably wrong.

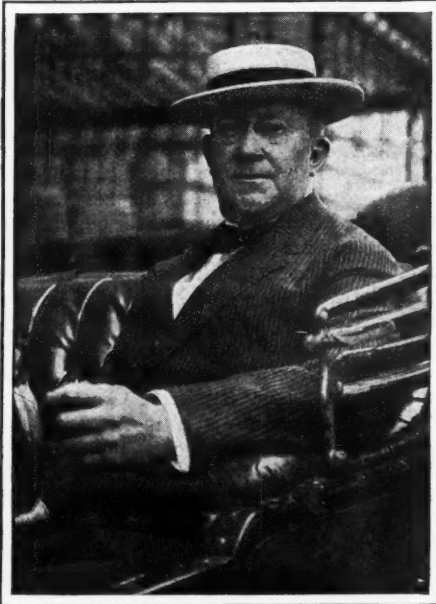
*Mr. Sulzer and
the Larger
Tammany*

The Legislature, in both houses, has been strongly controlled by Tammany Hall, which means the personal mastery of Charles F. Murphy, the head of Tammany. Governor Sulzer had been a Tammany Hall Democrat for a great many years, and in his younger days he was in the Legislature and served as Speaker of the body which has now brought impeachment charges against him. But until he re-

signed in order to be sworn in as Governor, eight months ago, Mr. Sulzer had been member of the House of Representatives at Washington for some eighteen years. He had not participated very actively in the political affairs of the State of New York for a long time, while, on the other hand, Tammany Hall had not concerned itself greatly about Government matters at Washington. In Sulzer's young days, Tammany's aim had been to control New York City affairs, and to be influential at Albany only for the sake

*How Sulzer
Became
Governor*

These expanded aspirations of Tammany had been surprisingly realized under the weak and compliant administration of Governor Dix. Mr. Murphy and Tammany would gladly have renominated Dix, last fall, but the up-State Democrats would have bolted and would have supported the Progressive candidate, Mr. Straus. The only possible compromise between the Tammany management and the up-State Democratic reformers and honest politicians seemed to be upon Congressman Sulzer, who had already toured the State as an avowed candidate, and had shown himself fairly popular. There was no break between Sulzer and Tammany until after the election. Sulzer had made broadcast promises to do his duty as Governor and serve the people regardless of personal consequences. The Tammany men evidently regarded all this as a part of William Sulzer's characteristic campaign manner and pose. The people of the State did not know whether to take Sulzer seriously or not, but they were inclined to trust him and more than ready to give him a fair chance. He had talked generalities; but he came down to practical problems in a very few days after his inauguration.



Copyright by American Press Association

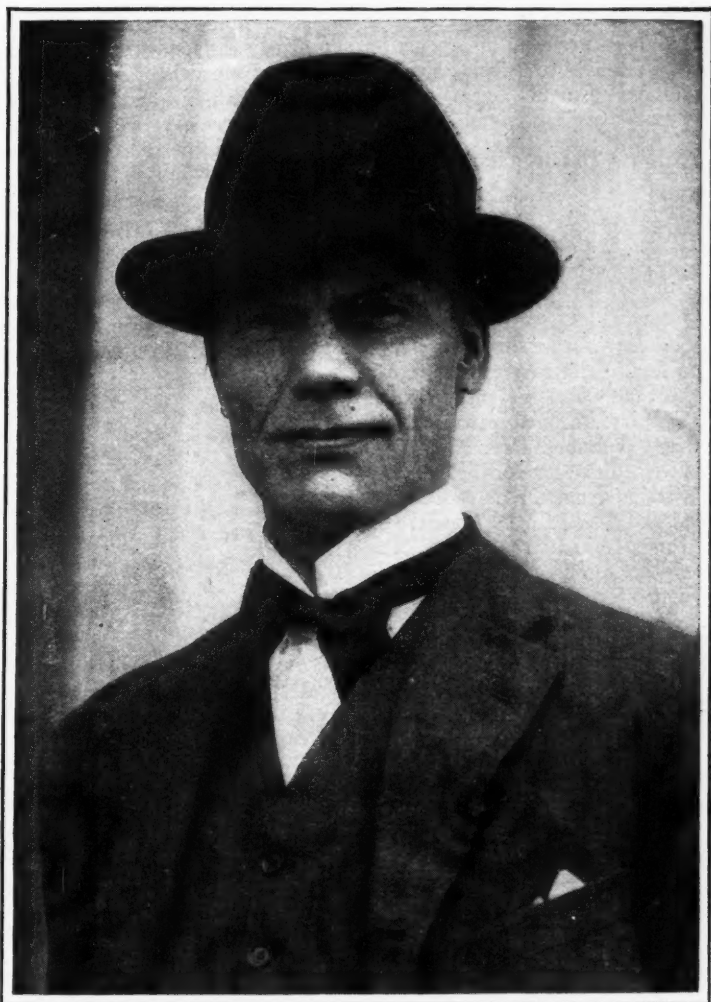
CHARLES F. MURPHY

(Leader of Tammany Hall, who, according to the newspapers, personally directed the impeachment proceedings against Governor Sulzer, remaining at his home in New York City in constant telephonic communication with Albany up to the time of the Governor's actual impeachment)

of controlling measures relating to municipal and corporation matters in the metropolis. But as the State of New York had lately expanded its public activities, spending hundreds of millions upon canals, State roads, new prisons, and other important work, while also regulating public-utility corporations as well as insurance companies and banks, Tammany had aspired to control the situation at Albany, not merely for the sake of New York City affairs, but because it wished to acquire many State offices and to come into hand-and-glove relationship with the expenditure of enormous sums of State money. A larger Tammany had come into being.

*The Beginnings
of a
Bitter War*

Troubles came rapidly. The Murphy gang desired to control Sulzer's appointments to the important positions, while Sulzer was determined to choose high-class men and clean out the prevailing rottenness of the State departments. Governor Sulzer found the State institutions suffering under scandalous conditions of maladministration, and made swift but valuable preliminary investigations. He made remarkably good appointments, and found the State Senate disposed to block them under orders evidently emanating from the head of Tammany Hall. The fight came to its climax in the Governor's determination to enact a Statewide primary law, in order to secure the nomination of high officials by direct popular action. The political machines of both old parties were determined to keep the State conventions for the nomination of Governor and leading State officers, because the Governor, through his appointing power, has his hand upon the vast interests involved in the State highway department, the canal department, the prisons department, the regulation of railway and other public-service corporations, and the supervision of banks and insurance companies. Great things were at stake.



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

HON. WILLIAM SULZER, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

(From a photograph of Mr. Sulzer taken the day after impeachment proceedings were entered upon)

*The Great
Point at
Issue*

The control of State conventions to nominate the Governor and State ticket is essential in New York to the two party machines, and to the non-partisan interests that finance and support both of these machines. The politicians, who had always been opposed to the primary system, offered to concede everything to the Governor if he would allow them to keep the State conventions. He would not compromise with them, and vetoed repeatedly the primary-election bills that they passed through both houses and sent up for his approval. If Governor Sulzer had been willing to yield this one point, and allow the politicians to have a primary-election law

that retained the State convention, nothing would have been heard of any impeachment proceedings against him. Governor Sulzer may have been guilty of mistakes, or indiscretions, or even worse. We shall be better able to judge of his conduct as to certain matters upon the conclusion of an impeachment trial set for opening on September 18.

*Assailed for
Virtues, Not
for Faults*

But, quite regardless of the Governor's mistakes or faults, it is an undoubted fact that he has shown high courage and great virtue as Governor of the State of New York during the brief period of his incumbency; and it is further true that the bitterness of the attacks

upon him which have led to the impeachment proceedings have been precisely in proportion to his exercise of political courage and public virtue in the discharge of his duties. However great or small his misdoings, his only fault in the eyes of those who are seeking his downfall lies in the fact that he has been, from their standpoint, to use their own word, an "impossible" Governor; that is to say, it has been impossible to get him to obey "Charlie" Murphy, whether by threatenings or cajolings.

*The
Stormy Special
Session*

The Legislature had adjourned on May 3, having refused to pass the Statewide primary bill that the Democratic platform had promised the people, and that Governor Sulzer demanded. Although there was little hope of getting any reversal of its action from the present Legislature, Governor Sulzer called a special session, and set June 16 for its beginning. The Governor took the stump and attempted to bring popular pressure to bear upon members of the Legislature. But Murphy himself was obdurate, and the Murphy control remained unshaken. Under the State constitution, a Legislature called in special session may only consider subjects expressly laid before it by the Governor. The special session rejected again the Governor's primary-election bill, and sent up to him again for his veto its own bill, so framed as to permit the machines to control the situation through their conventions. Some other matters were submitted by the Governor which are not pertinent for us to present in this connection. The fight became every day more bitter, and the Governor's attacks upon Murphy and Tammany had by this time gone so far as to preclude all hope of reconciliation or compromise. The Governor was determined to destroy the Tammany boss, and the Tammany boss in turn saw no way of escape except to destroy the Governor.

*Trying to
"Get" Sulzer*

A good many weeks ago, according to private political information that came to us from sources that we regard as trustworthy, the Tammany leaders and the powerful interests behind them had determined to impeach the Governor in order to get him out of the way. A mere majority vote of the lower branch of the Legislature is all that is needed to start impeachment proceedings. This majority was in the absolute control of Tammany. It was the theory of the Tammany lawyers that, under the Constitution of New York,

the beginning of such proceedings would summarily suspend the Governor from his office and put the Lieutenant-Governor in his place with full and unrestricted authority as Governor. At that time the Tammany machine had not decided what kind of charges they would bring against the Governor. Attempts were made to find him guilty of some impropriety in a law case twenty-five or thirty years ago. In these matters he was completely exonerated. A breach of promise suit was brought, which seemed on its face absurd, because it related to affairs long since gone by.



FOR NOT PLAYING THE GAME
From the Tribune (New York)

*The Investi-
gation of "Jim"
Frawley*

Finally an investigating committee of the Legislature was set to work to find out things against the Governor which could be used as a basis of charges in impeachment proceedings. The chairman of this joint committee was a Tammany Hall Senator, James J. Frawley, quite generally known among political people as "Jim" Frawley. It began its work in July, and the Legislature for weeks did little but mark time, adjourning and occasionally re-assembling while this committee summoned witnesses and worked at its appointed task. Behind it was masterful guidance, supported by unlimited resources and controlled by motives of self-preservation stimulated to the utmost. Attempts were made to show that the Governor had tried to influence Assemblymen and Senators to obey their party

platform pledges and vote for a direct-primary bill by his attitude toward the various measures in which they were individually interested. Such a charge, of course, must work both ways. Members of the Legislature had also taken oaths of office, and are also liable to removal. The Governor could with much greater propriety ask them to support a public measure, like the Statewide primary bill, than they could ask him to affix his signature to the scores or hundreds of local and special measures that they had put through the Legislature by log-rolling and trading among themselves.

*A Weak
Point Found
at Last*

Governor Sulzer, meanwhile, had not recognized the validity of this legislative investigation. The Legislature meets in regular session next January, and it could then do business upon its own initiative. But the Constitution requires that in sessions specially called by the Governor, he shall have the sole initiative as regards topics for consideration. In this contention the Governor was, in our judgment, right both morally and legally. All the charges brought against the Governor up to a certain time were undoubtedly frivolous. But finally a new line of attack was discovered that put the Governor in a most disagreeable position. The committee began to investigate the Governor's private financial affairs and his report of campaign expenditures last fall. Under the law of New York, every candidate, whether elected or defeated, must within a few days after the election file a report of moneys received for political use during his campaign and an itemized report of disbursements. Mr. Sulzer's report ac-



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

SENATOR JAMES J. FRAWLEY

(The Tammany man who investigated Sulzer)

knowledgeed the receipt of \$5460, from sixty-eight contributors, and the expenditure of \$7724. The Frawley committee, through its agents, succeeded in finding that Mr. Sulzer had one or two accounts with firms of bankers and brokers in the financial district of New York. By compelling members of these



Copyright by International News Service, New York

THE SO-CALLED "FRAWLEY COMMITTEE" THAT INVESTIGATED GOVERNOR SULZER AND UNEARTHED THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HIM

(From left to right: Matthew T. Horgan, secretary; Eugene Lamb Richards, counsel; Senator Felix J. Sanner; Senator James J. Frawley, chairman; Senator Samuel J. Ramsperger; and Assemblyman Myron Smith.)

firms to appear and testify, they unearthed facts which pointed to the conclusion that some ten or twelve checks, aggregating perhaps eight thousand dollars, had been received from well-known persons desirous of aiding Mr. Sulzer's campaign, had been deposited to his private account, and had not been included in the return of receipts and expenditures made by him a number of weeks before his inauguration as Governor.

*A Time
for Suspended
Judgment*

A highly sensational use was made of these disclosures, and the Tammany machine felt that it had at last found something that it could use as basis for impeachment proceedings. The Governor had, for a time at least, disturbed the minds of his friends by seeming determined to suppress testimony affecting these matters, and to prevent the full truth being known. It would probably have been best for the Governor to have issued the fullest and completest possible statement of all the facts, quite regardless of the extent to which he might, in so doing, have confessed to mistakes and faults. He issued a very brief statement, saying that the return of campaign receipts and expenditures had been prepared by others, and certified to by himself in the belief that it was correct. Mr. Sulzer has had a long record in which he has maintained an unquestioned reputation for personal integrity and for truthfulness. It is not well, therefore, to jump at conclusions which would condemn a public man of his standing as dishonest—especially when the charges are framed by notoriously bad men whose grounds of hostility have simply been the fact that their own schemes were being blocked by a better man than they. Governor Sulzer was entitled to every benefit of the doubt when he stated that he had been guilty of no conscious or intentional wrongdoing.

*The
Condemnation
by Frawley*

The Frawley committee presented its report to the Legislature on the night of August 11. Their document, which was made rather extended and formidable, could be simmered down to the one point that Governor Sulzer had not filed a correct return of his election receipts and expenditures. This charge was embroidered with all kinds of accusations of theft and perjury, and of attempt to prevent witnesses from testifying before the Frawley committee. The accusation that Governor Sulzer had favored legislation to incorporate the New York Stock Exchange, with a motive of influencing the stock mar-



IMPEACHING SULZER
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany, N. Y.)

ket and affecting the value of some railroad shares that he had bought, is so ridiculous that it is hard to understand how any member of the Legislature could have kept a straight face while promulgating such tomfoolery.

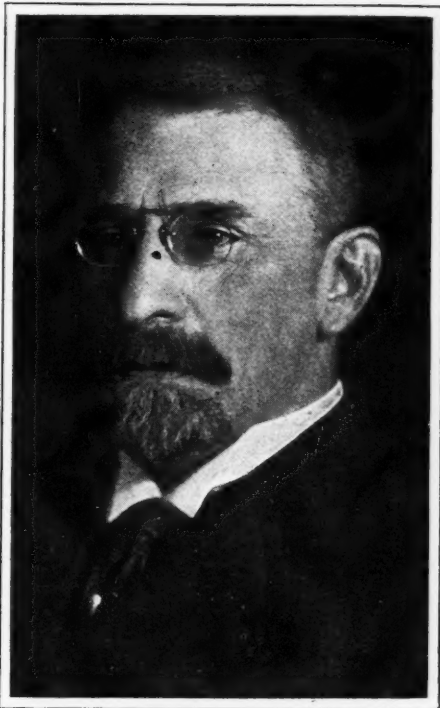
*Some
Bearings Upon
the Case*

An incorrect filing of campaign expenditures is indeed a serious matter. But before passing hasty judgment upon Governor Sulzer the reader should bear several things in mind. In the first place, the campaign for Governor of New York last fall was not based in any sense upon the use of money. There were three principal candidates—namely Sulzer (Democratic), Oscar Straus (Progressive), and Job Hedges (Republican). The voters were interested in the Presidential as well as in the State campaign, and were not brought into the voting booths to any extent by expenditure of money on behalf of the candidates for Governor. Mr. Sulzer was fairly and honorably elected. In the second place, it was well known that Mr. Sulzer was ambitious to make a fine record on high public grounds. It was said that he aspired to reach the White House at some future time. He is too good a politician, and too deeply versed in personal and party political history, to have supposed for a moment that he could report only a part of his campaign receipts and divert the

greater part to private speculation in Wall Street, without having the matter brought to light at some future time in such a way as to embarrass or ruin his political career. Everything in Sulzer's record goes to show that political success is a much stronger motive with him than private money-making. On the face of things, therefore, it is natural to believe that Governor Sulzer had not intentionally done the things which his accusers have set forth. Nor is it clear that there is anything in the alleged transactions that furnishes proper ground for impeachment charges.

*A Novel Kind
of Charge*

It is not charged that he had won his seat as Governor by a corrupt expenditure of money. The charge against him is a wholly novel one, and without precedent in the field of politics or of public morals. The object of laws requiring the filing of campaign accounts has been to check the bribing of voters, or the lavish and unrestrained use of money to influence elections and bring about political results. Tammany's charges against Sulzer, however, take the novel form that the thrifty Governor did not spend very much money, and that he failed to give back to his admiring friends certain sums which they had privately sent to him for his use during the campaign. Here we have some rather fine technical questions. For instance, does personal money not actually spent in a campaign become money which ought to be reported? Suppose Mr. Sulzer, on the day after election, had sent back to Mr. Jacob Schiff, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, and others, the sums that they had previously sent to him in the form of personal checks, accompanying the return of these sums with statements to the effect that he had not needed the money for political purposes, had not used it, and did not intend to account for it as campaign funds. The chief object of the law, let us repeat, is to give publicity to campaign expenditures. We have known of instances in which candidates for high office have received very generous checks from honorable friends, which they have held for a time and then returned to the donors with the explanation that it has been deemed best not to accept the gifts, and that it has been found entirely possible to run the campaign without them. When such public men have made up their statements of receipts and expenses, it has not occurred to them to include these particular checks in their receipts.



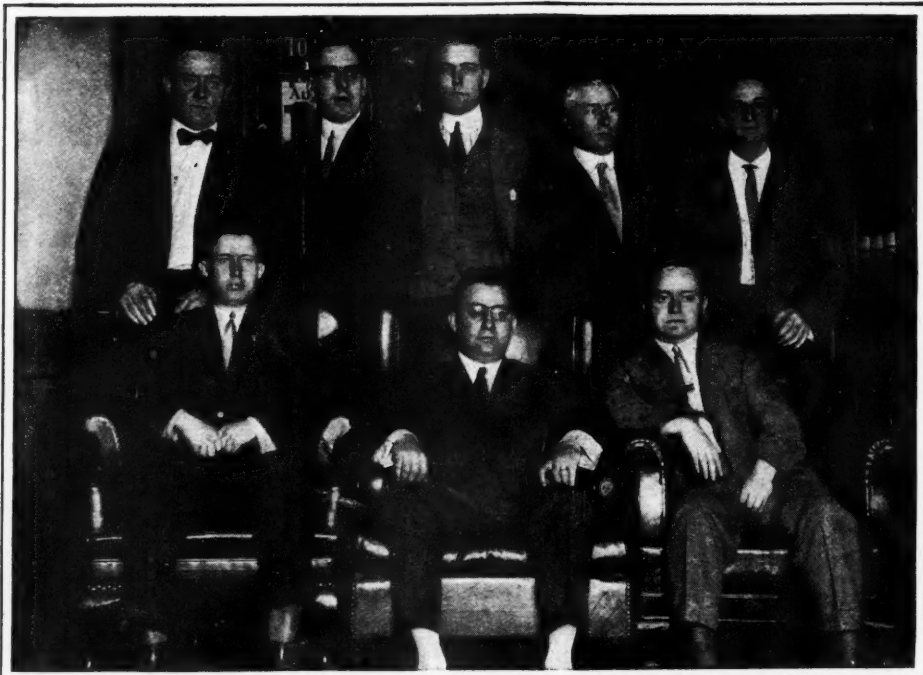
Copyright by Pach Brothers, N. Y.

MR. HENRY MORGENTHAU, OF NEW YORK CITY

(Mr. Morgenthau is a citizen of public spirit and great influence, who was prominently connected with the campaign for President Wilson's nomination and election, and was one of the men who contributed liberally to Mr. Sulzer's campaign fund in New York. It has been reported that Mr. Morgenthau would accept President Wilson's offer of the post of ambassador at Constantinople.)

*Further
Aspects of
Sulzer's Offense*

At the moment when the New York Legislature, last month, was determining to bring impeachment proceedings against Governor Sulzer upon this ground of failing to report certain contributions to his funds, a touch of pathos was afforded by the Governor's devoted wife. Mrs. Sulzer declared that the Governor's private business affairs had for a good while been entirely in her hands, that she had deposited the checks in question, and that any mistakes or errors for which the Governor might be deemed culpable were entirely hers and in no sense attributable to him. The Legislature ignored Mrs. Sulzer's declarations, but she will undoubtedly be an important witness when the charges come up for trial in the latter part of the present month. The New York statute which requires the filing of campaign receipts and expenditures by candidates, like those of other States, can, of course, be evaded in all sorts of ways. These statutes



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE ASSEMBLY TO CONDUCT THE TRIAL OF THE IMPEACHMENT
CASE AGAINST GOVERNOR SULZER

(Sitting, left to right: Patrick McMahon, Aaron J. Levy [chairman], Abraham Greenberg. Standing, left to right: William J. Gillen, T. P. Madden, Theodore H. Ward, Thomas K. Smith, and J. V. Fitzgerald)

are comparatively recent in the United States. They have a good purpose, but their operation is not trustworthy or efficient. But for this recent statute the transactions of which the Governor is accused could hardly have been given an important public bearing. Individual contributors might fairly enough have asked the Governor to return to them money which he had not found it necessary to use in his legitimate campaign expenses. So much for the charges themselves—their legal and their intrinsic qualities.

*Making Up
the Indictment*

The Legislature proceeded rapidly. Upon the presentation of the report, absentee members of the Assembly were hurriedly brought to Albany, in order to vote in favor of impeachment charges. On August 13, the vote was taken, upon a motion made by Mr. Levy, who is Tammany leader of the Assembly majority. The roll-call showed seventy-nine votes in favor of impeachment and forty-five against. Seven Republicans voted "aye," and about half of those voting "no" were Democrats. Half of the Republicans were absent and did not act. The Assembly

has 150 members, and the vote was taken at five o'clock in the morning, after an all-night session, the delay being caused by the necessity of getting a majority of all the members to vote "aye." Thus seventy-six votes were necessary to bring the impeachment charges, and seventy-nine affirmative votes were recorded on the roll-call. The formal charges had already been prepared behind the scenes. Later, in the course of the same day (August 13), these formal charges were duly presented to the Senate by the Assembly, a committee of six Democrats and two Republicans having been appointed to prosecute the charges. The chairman of this committee is the floor leader of the Assembly, Aaron J. Levy, a New York City lawyer. Under the New York Constitution, impeachment charges are tried before a body of judges consisting of all the members of the State Senate, together with all the judges of the Court of Appeals, the chief judge of the Court of Appeals presiding over the deliberations. This court has seven elected members, besides three additional ones designated from lower courts to serve upon the bench of appeals.

*Rival Governors
and a Critical
Dispute*

As soon as the Legislature had determined upon this course of action a matter of the utmost importance arose at once. The legislative majority contended that the decision of the Assembly to bring charges must immediately suspend the Governor from office and put in his place the Lieutenant-Governor. The leading New York newspapers jumped at this same conclusion in editorials which even ridiculed the opposite contention. The Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Martin Glynn, editor of one of the numerous local newspapers of Albany, believed himself entitled at once, on the 13th of August, to exercise all the prerogatives of Governor of New York, and



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

**LEADERS AT ALBANY IN THE TAMMANY ATTACK
UPON SULZER**

(Aaron Levy is floor leader of the Tammany majority in the Assembly, and Senator "Jim" Frawley was chairman of the committee which investigated the Governor)



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

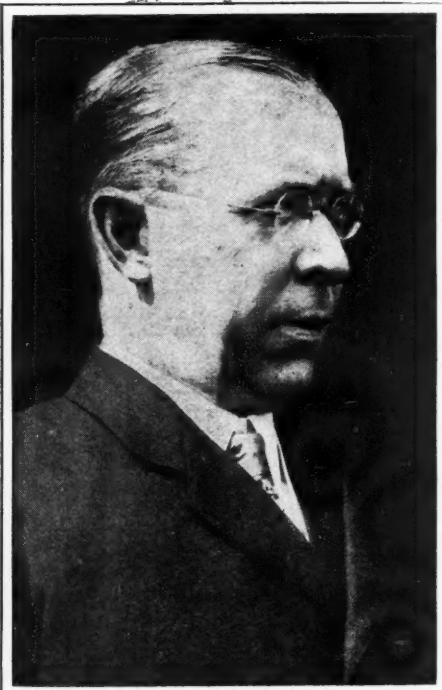
AARON J. LEVY

(Tammany leader in the Assembly and chief prosecutor of Governor Sulzer, also author of the notorious Levy election law)

undertook to do so. Governor Sulzer showed determination to hold his place, and his lawyers supported his view as to his rights, while counseling peaceable proceedings and a prompt resort to the courts for an interpretation of the Constitution.

*Principles
at Stake*

A somewhat shocking ignorance of the whole subject in its broad bearings was exhibited, especially by some of the metropolitan newspapers. Andrew Johnson's authority as President was never interrupted for a moment by his impeachment trial in 1868. There is no difference between suspension from the office of Governor and absolute removal, excepting that a suspension might not extend through the entire elective term. A hostile majority in a legislative assembly could at any moment trump up impeachment charges against the Governor, upon any pretext, however flimsy, and the other branch of the Legislature would be obliged to fix a date and proceed with the trial. The trial committee appointed by the lower house could protract the proceedings for a long time by



Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

HON. MARTIN H. GLYNN, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
OF NEW YORK

(Who on August 14, being supported by most of the State officers and department heads, took upon himself the exercise of the functions of Governor in rivalry with Governor Sulzer)

their manner of marshaling evidence and making arguments. This would be a very easy way to throw a disliked Governor out of office, in the interest of a Lieutenant-Governor who would act in accordance with the wishes of the conspirators, if preferring charges involved instant removal. It is obvious that a Governor, elected by the votes of the people, should exercise his authority until removed from office by due process. The mere filing of charges by a majority in the Assembly constitutes no process at all. The only penalty for conviction by the court, after due trial of impeachment charges, is removal from office. It is preposterous in the highest degree to take the ground that the mere formulating of charges by one house, which has not even involved a preliminary process by an impartial body, could remove the State's chief magistrate from the office which the people gave him. That nobody knew what was law and custom in such a crisis is chiefly due to the fact that the impeachment of high executive officers is virtually an obsolete practice.

*The General
Rule of the
States*

In nearly all of the forty-eight States of the Union, the Governor is unquestionably protected by the State constitution, exactly as the President of the United States is protected. In other words, impeachment proceedings do not affect in any way the status of a President or a Governor until the charges are sustained by the formal action of the court which tries him. While this is unquestionably the case in nearly all of the States, following the analogy of the United States Constitution, it is also, in our opinion, the intention of the Constitution of the State of New York to give exactly the same protection to the Governor's office as is afforded by the constitution of nearly every other State, pursuing the example of the Federal Constitution. The New York Constitution of 1777 did, indeed, provide for suspension upon bringing charges. But the Constitution of 1846 struck out that objectionable arrangement. The trouble with the present New York Constitution is that in more than one place it uses the word "impeachment" in the ordinary and prevalent sense, meaning *successful* impeachment, or conviction under impeachment charges. It is wholly proper that a judge, if under impeachment, should not try cases until his own case is settled. A judicial office is not political, and originally judicial officers were appointive. The Constitution of New York, like those of most of the other States, expressly says that "no judicial officer shall exercise his office after articles of impeachment shall have been preferred to the Senate, until he shall have been acquitted."

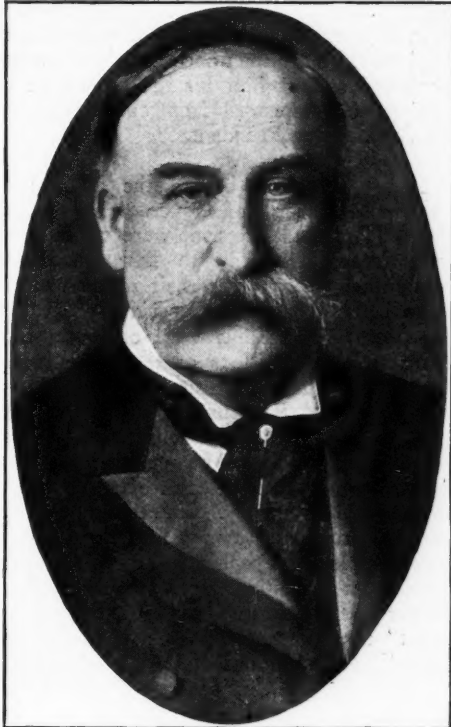
*Meaning of
Present
Instrument*

It is reasonable to infer that no such prohibition was intended as respects the Governor or an elected executive officer by those who revised New York's Constitution in 1894. Ordinarily, the chief duty of the Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York is to preside over the Senate. The Constitution declares that in case of the impeachment of the Governor the Lieutenant-Governor must not act as one of the body that tries the charges. This is for reasons of obvious good taste, inasmuch as the Lieutenant-Governor would become Governor in case of a conviction by the vote of two-thirds of the members of the trial body. But surely the Constitution need not have prohibited the Lieutenant-Governor from sitting in the Senate and acting as a judge through the long weeks of an impeachment trial against the Governor

if the Constitution had also intended that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself fill the Governor's office from the very moment when the Assembly decided to prefer charges. The Constitution must be taken in all its parts, and a study of it as a whole makes it reasonable to assume that the State of New York had not intended to retain the absurd rule of 1777, but rather to follow the plan of the National Constitution and those of practically all the other important States in the Union.

*Common
Misuse of
a Word*

The whole difference of opinion comes from a use of the word "impeachment" in two senses by a careless drafting committee when the Constitution was prepared for adoption. Strictly speaking, the word "impeachment" means merely accusation. But the Constitution loosely speaks of the range of penalties for impeachment of an officer, when it means penalties in case of conviction after the trial of impeachment charges. Even well informed men of legal knowledge habitually use the word "impeachment," meaning conviction and removal from office. The New York Constitution defines the circumstances under which the Lieutenant-Governor might take the place of the Governor. These include death, absence from the State, such automatic causes as conviction of crime in court, and "impeachment" is mentioned as the first in the list. Since elsewhere in the instrument the word "impeachment" is used in the sense of conviction after an impeachment trial, it would seem entirely plain to a candid student of the subject in all its bearings, historical and otherwise, that it has not recently been the intention of the State of New York to allow a hostile majority in one branch of the Legislature to deprive the Governor of his office, and to install the



CHIEF JUSTICE CULLEN, OF THE NEW YORK COURT
OF APPEALS

(Who would preside over an impeachment court in
case of the trial of a Governor)

Lieutenant-Governor on a moment's notice under suspension of rules by the mere passage of a resolution to bring impeachment charges. The present Constitution of New York was made by a sane and intelligent body, with the Hon. Joseph H. Choate as its president and the Hon. Elihu Root as one of its foremost members. This convention would never have permitted itself to do such an eccentric and ridiculous thing as to depart from what had become the well-established American rule (national and State), and to allow high executive officers to be deposed, in advance of an impeachment trial, by the mere whim of a political majority in one branch of the Legislature. The framers of the present Constitution of New York, in our judgment, meant to protect the office of Governor as against the Goths and Vandals of a Tammany majority in the Legislature, precisely as the Constitution of the United States meant to protect the high office of President against the fury of a hostile majority in the House of Representatives. If the present Tammany doctrine in New York were sound, and could have been applied at Wash-



WILL THE TIGER GET HIM?

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

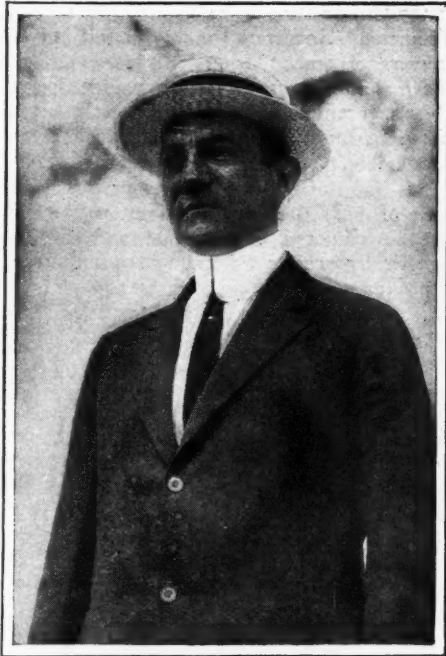
ington, not only would Andrew Johnson have been deposed from office, but Grover Cleveland would more than once have had charges preferred against him for the mere sake of having him suspended from the exercise of his functions as President.

*Too Eager
Support for
Tammany*

Hidden behind the attempt to get rid of Governor Sulzer, beyond question, were various private interests, greedy to have conditions established under which their schemes might have better hope of prospering. The impeachment proceedings were obviously contrary to the provisions of the Constitution which limit the Legislature's initiative in an extra session. Exposure of the Governor's report of his campaign accounts last November could constitute no emergency. The whole business had the color of an audacious and wicked conspiracy. Its eager support by certain prominent New York newspapers was pitiable in its sophistries, in its hypocrisy and in its revelation of the well-nigh fatal power of the forces of "invisible government" that are engaged in a life-and-death struggle for continued mastery of the affairs of the State and City of New York. These papers continued to assert, day by day, that there could be no shadow of a doubt as to the meaning of the New York Constitution, and that Lieutenant-Governor Glynn, from August 13, had the clearest and most unquestionable title to exercise all the functions of government.



AND IT'S LOADED WITH MUD!
From the *Herald* (New York)



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

(Tammany leader of the New York State Senate, and also active in the attempt to remove Governor Sulzer)

*The
Impartial
View*

Yet no intelligent and careful person could possibly read the Constitution and examine the facts, from the standpoint of an impartial student, without seeing that the weight of reason and common sense lay with Governor Sulzer's contention, while the literal text of the Constitution—though ambiguous at one point—was more favorable to the contention of Sulzer than to that of Glynn and Tammany. It was obvious, however, that the case was one for the law courts; and that Glynn, instead of trying to seize and exercise the functions of the Governorship should merely have presented his demand, and upon refusal to have his claims accepted should have had mandamus proceedings brought in the courts to determine the points at issue. The newspapers attempted to make it appear that Governor Sulzer was a usurper in remaining in the office to which he had been elected. This was a ridiculous inversion of principles, because it was obviously his duty to continue to serve under his oath of office until the courts had shown that a majority of the Assembly, in an extra session, had the power to suspend him. Governor Sulzer was not merely right in endeavoring to keep

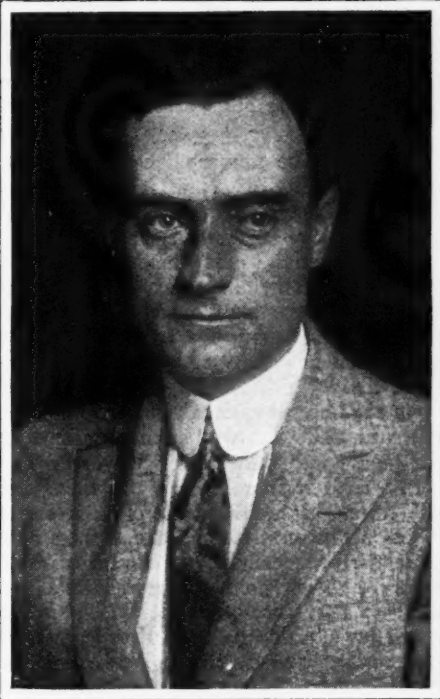
possession of his office, but he would have been recreant and censurable if he had meekly abandoned his post prior to a decision of the courts as to the meaning of the Constitution in several important respects. His offer to accept a judicial decision was enough.

*The Deadlock
at
Albany*

At the time these pages were closed for the press, the conspiracy against Governor Sulzer had gained strength and made his position practically impossible by the desertion of the other governing forces of the State and their transfer of allegiance to Glynn. The Attorney-General, Mr. Carmody, had all along been regarded as hostile to Governor Sulzer. The heads of the National Guard had recognized the new claimant. Mr. Murphy's managers in both houses of the Legislature had arranged to stage the situation somewhat dramatically, when the session convened on Tuesday, August 19. Thus it was planned to receive a message from Martin Glynn as Governor, to reject appointments sent in by Governor Sulzer, and to ratify appointments made by Martin Glynn. The State as a whole was somewhat dazed by this rapid movement of events. Mr. Sulzer had amicably offered to Mr. Glynn to refer the questions involved to the courts to be immediately settled. Mr. Glynn had apparently not dared to face the courts, and had peremptorily refused. As we have already said, nothing whatever had happened which would legally have justified Governor Sulzer in abandoning a post the duties of which he had sworn to perform. All the legal and practical presumptions were in favor of a Governor who had not been tried for anything, but had been merely assailed and accused by an aggregation of enemies justly regarded as the worst and most corrupt political force in any portion of the civilized world.

*The Struggling
Forces in
Politics*

We have discussed this New York situation at some length, because its merely local aspects are overshadowed by its larger significance. It is an episode in the continuous struggle now going on in this country against corruption and rascality in politics. Tammany Hall—in control at Albany and in more or less perfect agreement with certain of the managers of the Republican machine—constitutes the worst and most desperate element in that combination of selfish and evil interests that tried to dominate both national parties last year. The whole meaning of the Progressive Party is combat in the inter-



Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

HON. JOHN PURROY MITCHEL
(Fusion nominee for Mayor of New York)

est of honest government against the machine control of Democratic and Republican politics. The chief effort of President Wilson at Washington is to accomplish things in law-making and administration through the support of sound public opinion, without having the results vitiated or compromised by the malign cunning of the bad elements in his own party. Governor Sulzer's strength has consisted in his determination to be a good Governor, in spite of all pressure to the contrary. His weakness has grown chiefly out of his past affiliations with Tammany Hall. He has been the more relentlessly pursued because his present enemies consider him a renegade. Quite regardless of all that may even now be said against Mr. Sulzer, he is probably the very best man now in public life who has ever been prominently connected with Tammany Hall, and incomparably superior to all of his opponents in merit and in title to public sympathy. But, under all the circumstances, it might now seem clear enough that the best man to be elected Governor last fall was Mr. Oscar Straus, the Progressive candidate. Even Mr. Straus, however, would probably de-

clare that he could not have shown greater energy or courage than Governor Sulzer has shown in trying to reform the administration, the finances and all the governmental conditions of the State of New York.

*The Great
Municipal
Contest*

The municipal campaign in the City of New York will have deserved national attention, and we shall give it ample space and careful presentation next month, when all tickets are in the field and all issues fairly joined. Circumstances which have been described in this magazine from time to time made it obvious that good citizens ought not to be divided this fall, in municipal politics, upon the lines of national parties. The struggle four years ago was an intense one, and the candidate nominated for Mayor by Tammany Hall was elected, while the Fusion ticket was successful for the other important places. The most conspicuous of these places were the presidency of the Board of Aldermen, to which John Purroy Mitchel was elected; the Controllershship, which was secured by Mr. William A. Prendergast, and the presidency of the Borough of Manhattan, to which Mr. George McAneny was elected. Mr. Charles S. Whitman, also the Fusion candidate, was at the same time elected District Attorney. Mayor Gaynor was opposed by Mr. Otto Bannard as the Fusion candidate and by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who ran on a third ticket—with the idea of diverting votes from Gaynor rather than from Bannard. Judge Gaynor had not been a Tammany man, but rather a progressive Democrat of independent and outspoken views. In many respects he has made an able and remarkable mayor. If he had not been the victim of an attack upon his life in the early part of his term, which impaired his health, he would have been nominated and elected Governor of the State in place of Dix; and this would have changed the course of State affairs besides making Gaynor a formidable candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1912.

*Several
Admirable
Candidates*

This year the guiding spirits in the Fusion movement have been opposed both to Tammany Hall and to the renomination of Mayor Gaynor. The District Attorney, Mr. Whitman, had become very popular through his exposure and prosecution of the police grafters. Mr. McAneny had won the highest approbation by his admirable management of the affairs of the Borough of

Manhattan. Mr. Prendergast, as Controller, had made a noteworthy record. Mr. John Purroy Mitchel, younger than the others, had been a great force for good government as President of the Board of Aldermen and a member of the Board of Estimate. All of these men were regarded as eminently fit for the office of Mayor. The large Fusion committee finally named John Purroy Mitchel to head the ticket, renominated Mr. Prendergast for Controller, named Mr. McAneny for President of the Board of Aldermen, renominated Mr. Whitman for District Attorney and selected Mr. Marcus A. Marks to fill Mr. McAneny's present place as head of the Borough of Manhattan. Mr. John Purroy Mitchel had recently been appointed by President Wilson as Collector of the Port of New York. Mr. Whitman's friends were greatly disappointed, as were those of Mr. McAneny. But all of the men named accepted their places upon the ticket in a spirit of loyalty and with expressions of devotion to the public interest. The Republicans, who had preferred Whitman, finally accepted Mitchel. Mayor Gaynor was entirely disposed to run for a second term, and it was expected that he would secure the Tammany nomination, besides being named by certain independent bodies and groups. What progress in municipal government means and requires for the city of New York, we shall discuss next month, through the pen of a most competent authority.

*The Grind
at Washington
in Dog Days*

Another month at Washington had not radically changed political or legislative conditions. The middle of August found the Senate still wearily discussing the Tariff bill, and the House striving to complete and pass the Currency bill, while the lobby inquiry in the Senate was going forward with no prospect of termination, and the House had started a lobby inquiry of its own. The growing acuteness of conditions in Mexico had created much apprehension at Washington, while critical phases of diplomatic discussion with Japan had fortunately disappeared. President Wilson had remained at his post with alertness, unflinching attention to administrative and legislative affairs, and an exhibition of splendid staying qualities as regards both purpose and method. Thus President Wilson had not the slightest idea of acquiescing in the adjournment of Congress without the passage of a currency bill as well as that of a tariff bill.

*The
Currency Bill
to Be Pressed*

The pending Currency bill, having undergone some desirable modifications at the hands of the Democratic majority of the Committee on Currency and Banking, was duly offered to the caucus of all the Democratic members of the House of Representatives on Monday, August 11. Chairman Glass presented the bill as having the sanction of President Wilson, Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Bryan and other men of power and authority in the party. The opposition of bankers, furthermore, had been to a considerable extent modified. One of the changes in the bill provided that the appointive members of the Federal Reserve board should belong to different political parties, and another authorized the national banks to extend their functions to include those of savings banks. An important amendment in the caucus specified the recognition of warehouse certificates issued against staple products, such as cotton, wheat and corn, as a basis for credit and currency. This was in response to the efforts of Mr. Henry, of Texas, and other Southern and Western men; and as finally accepted by both wings of the party the new clause seems to have merit and to be free from serious objections. It was the plan of the House managers to make the bill, when approved by the caucus, on August 16, an official party measure. It would then be submitted to the Republican members of the Banking and Currency Committee as a matter of courtesy, and reported to the full House for a few days of formal debate before its assured passage by a very large majority. There was reason to expect that it would be sent to the Senate on or about Monday, August 25.

*The Senate
Must Work Till
December*

Meanwhile, the Senators were worn out and disheartened over the daily diminishing prospect of any vacation. Their real desire was to finish the tariff work and adjourn the session, leaving the Currency bill to be considered next winter. Debate cannot be hurried in the Senate, and there was no prospect of arriving at a final vote on the Tariff bill any earlier than the first days of September. The debate was moving perfunctorily, individual Senators taking ample time to put their views on record for the sake of their constituents and for future reference. The Senators were not regarded as likely to handle the currency question readily upon the party lines drawn by the other house. Nevertheless, on August 14, the Democratic caucus of the Senate

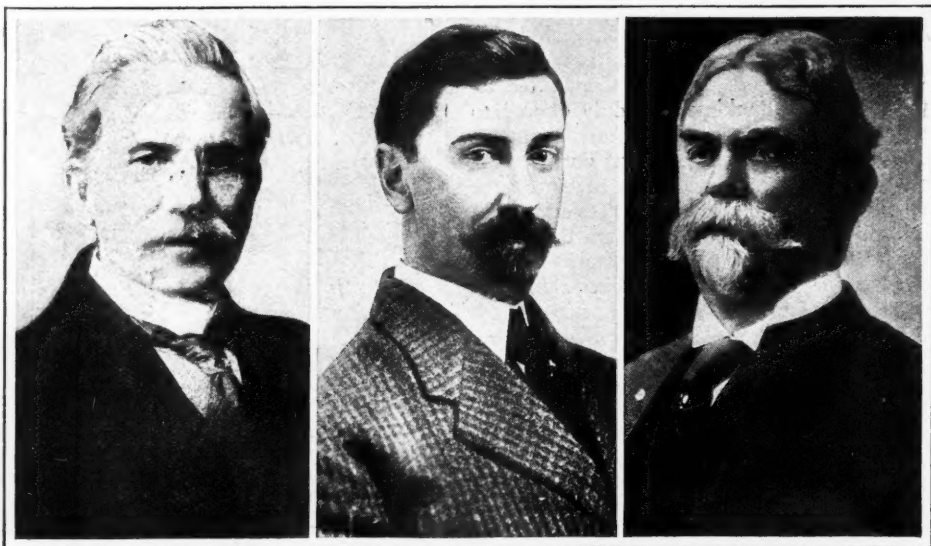


THINGS COMING HIS WAY IN THE SENATE
From the Journal (Minneapolis)

heartily accepted President Wilson's view that the Currency bill must be taken up at once in the present session, without even permitting a recess of a week or two for the refreshment and health of the Senators. Senator O'Gorman, of New York, and Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska, were opposed to currency legislation at this session, but they were almost entirely without support. It was hoped by the Democrats that their decision to proceed at once to the Currency bill would induce Republican Senators to agree upon a date for ending the tariff discussion. While no date was then agreed upon, there will be a natural tendency to expedite matters in view of the certainty that the currency issue cannot be postponed. It should be borne in mind that the Republicans have not been offering obstruction or using dilatory tactics, and that they all freely admit that the Tariff bill is quite certain to pass without material change. The extra session will probably last till the end of November, and the regular session begins on the first Monday of December.

*Some Aspects
of the
Tariff Debate*

It must not be supposed that the facts and arguments presented in the tariff debate have been without force or importance. Many of the speeches against the bill have shown great ability, and many of the criticisms have been well founded. Tariffs such as we make in this country do not rest upon a basis of consistent logic or principle. It was agreed,



JOHN KIRBY, JR.

JAMES A. EMERY

JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE

THREE FIGURES OF FORMER PROMINENCE IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, WHOSE NAMES HAVE RECURRED IN THE MULHALL CORRESPONDENCE AND TESTIMONY

however, that there had to be some kind of tariff revision, and that the Republicans, having failed to satisfy either themselves or the country when they had ample opportunity, must allow the Democrats to try their hand. The pending bill is not scientific, but the Democrats believe that its faults are not nearly so great as were those of the Payne-Aldrich bill. Senator Simmons introduced the bill on July 18, after it had been many weeks in the hands of the Finance Committee. Its average rates were said to be nearly 28 per cent. lower than those of the present Republican tariff, and more than 4 per cent. lower than those of the Underwood bill as it left the House. Senator Simmons as chairman of the Finance Committee explained and defended the bill. Senator Cummins took an early date to make a sweeping and drastic analytical criticism of the measure, condemning it with unsparing severity. Senator Smoot, Senator Burton and many others in succession assailed the bill, some of them from the standpoint of particular schedules and others upon the lines of broad policy. A number of these carefully-prepared speeches will stand as important documents in the great American debate that has been running for more than a hundred years upon protective tariffs as a matter of policy and of detailed practice. We shall not soon have reached the end of tariff debates, yet it is to be hoped that we may bring them to the

more scientific lines of discussion that should properly belong to the problems of taxation.

*The Protracted
Lobby
Inquiry*

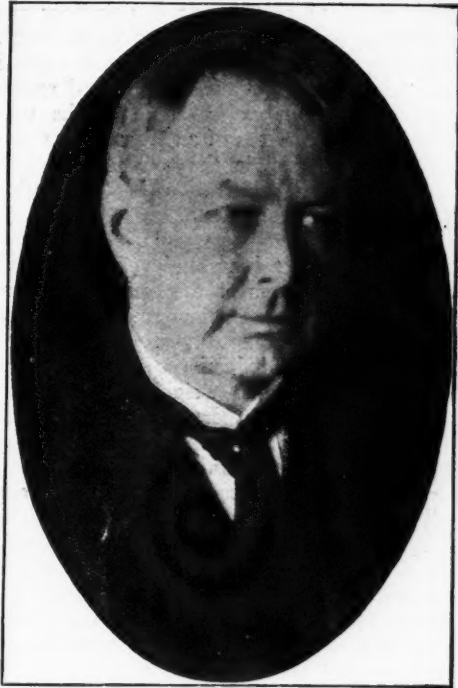
Elsewhere in this number is a very impressive article, by Mr. John Callan O'Laughlin, upon the significance of some of the things that have already come to light in the long-drawn-out investigation by a Senate committee at Washington of President Wilson's charges regarding the activities of lobbyists. Conclusions at present can only be tentative, because the inquiry has not yet come to an end. The star witness has been a certain Mr. Mulhall, who was for some time employed by the National Association of Manufacturers. It must not be supposed that this association has had corrupt or evil aims; but its management has occasionally erred through excess of zeal, and the organization has evidently, at times, used bad men and indefensible methods, while at other times—as, for example, in its work for a tariff commission in 1908—it has used excellent men and proper methods. The lobby inquiry will have served useful ends. Happily, it has not thus far brought any deep shadow of discredit, much less of disgrace, upon our prominent figures in the legislative life at Washington. Only one Representative seems to have been seriously smirched. It has been a tedious affair because certain members of the committee have asked thousands of needless questions.

**Important
Changes in the
Parcel Post**

Six months' trial of the tentative parcel-post system had demonstrated its success so immediately and conclusively that Postmaster-General Burleson was able to announce in July important extensions of the service and reduction of rates. On August 15 a change in the zone system became effective by which the first zone was made to include the territory within the local delivery of any post-office and the second zone to include the remainder of what was originally the first zone, together with all of the original second zone—that is to say, the area located within a radius of 150 miles from any given post-office. The rates were at the same time decreased, for the first zone, from 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound, to 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional two pounds; for the second zone the new rate is 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound. At the same time the maximum weight of packages receivable in the service for the first and second zones was increased from eleven pounds to twenty pounds. In the place of the parcel-post map, by which rates were figured on a zone basis, there is now a rate chart showing the charges as to each individual post-office. The Postmaster-General is optimistic as to the present working and future prospects of the service. Instead of the 300,000,000 parcels that the Post-Office expected to carry in the first year, the number actually transported will be about 600,000,000. Before the changes noted above were announced an important improvement had been made early in the summer in the matter of stamps, by allowing the regular letter postage stamps to be used in the parcel service, instead of the special parcel-post stamps, the exclusive use of which had caused altogether too much inconvenience and confusion for any advantage gained.

**Further
Improvements
in the
Parcel Post**

The energetic Postmaster-General gives it as his opinion that ultimately the Government will, through the Post-Office, carry practically all the small packages of the country. He very wisely realizes that he must be cautious in extensions of the system and reductions of rates, as the Post-Office machinery might well be clogged with business that could not be handled profitably and efficiently if the service were extended too rapidly, but he believes that at least within fifteen or twenty years the Post-Office will be handling parcels up to 100 pounds in weight. The Postmaster-



Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

POSTMASTER-GENERAL BURLESON

General, in his colloquy with members of the Senate Post-Office Committee who opposed the extensions now made, affirmed that in handling a twenty-pound package the Post-Office could, under the present rates, net a profit of 10 cents. His critics in the Senate maintained that the operation would show a loss of 8 cents instead of a profit. It is a vastly complicated calculation, in the present state of the Post-Office accounting system, to decide on the cost of a unit of operation, and probably no two accountants put on the problem would come to anything like similar conclusions. But if General Burleson's figures have any approximation of accuracy, such a very considerable margin of profit as is shown by his estimate of 10 cents should argue for a speedy further reduction of rates, and, certainly, for the extension of the service to receive packages of books. It was, doubtless, a matter of expedience and caution—certainly not of logic or convenience to the public—which excluded books from the parcel post system, and if the system is actually operated at a profit, or anything near a profit, the sooner books are included the better. Representative Lewis, of Maryland, has already introduced a bill in the House for the inclusion of books.

It is much to be hoped, too, that with the perfection of the service, the complicated, puzzling, and somewhat unfair zone method can be at least simplified by a radical reduction in the number of zones, if the geographical peculiarities of an American parcel-post system preclude the total abolition of zones and the substitution of the greatly preferable flat-rate system.

*The Reduction
of
Express Rates*

After long study of the express business of the country, the Interstate Commerce Commission announced early in August its order for rather sweeping reductions in rates. The charges for packages weighing as much as 100 pounds carried short distances were but little changed, and slight reductions are made for long distances. The rates for packages of fifty pounds and less were practically all reduced. Apparently, parcels weighing more than four pounds must now be carried by the express companies over distances of from 200 to 3000 miles at lower rates than those charged in the parcel post. It is stated that shippers will save, in the aggregate, \$26,000,000 per annum as a result of the order. In addition to the rate reductions, the Commerce Commission prescribed an entirely new arrangement of express tariffs, by the block system, which is said to reduce

the present 900,000,000 separate rates to less than 650,000. The new order is effective on October 15 of this year. The officers of the leading express companies are, naturally, not happy over a reduction of their revenues variously estimated by them at from 16 to 30 per cent.—coming at the same time with the new competition of the parcel post. Many of them predict that there will be no increase of business resulting from the lower rates, and see only disaster. As a whole, however, the companies show a tendency to grapple with the new conditions and attempt to work out, through greater efficiency of operation, some salvation for their stockholders.

*The Crops
and
Trade*

The Government gives out its estimates of the condition and amount of the year's crops on the eighth of each month, and the crucial report is that published in August. This year a widespread drought during July played havoc in the cornfields, producing an estimated loss of 300,000,000 bushels, and leaving a total yield of 2,672,200,000 bushels—less by 452,000,000 bushels than in 1912. On the other hand, the yield of winter wheat is the greatest in the history of the country—511,000,000 bushels—and the spring-wheat crop is fair. Potatoes, oats, barley and tobacco all show a heavy falling



"A FRIEND IN NEED"

(Uncle Sam lending his financial aid for the movement of the crops)
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

off from last year's figures. The final average result for the farmers and to the country is, thanks to the bumper wheat yield, a fair year. With the agricultural production thus respectably prosperous, the country has done a record year of business in foreign commerce, despite the stagnation and despair of Wall Street and the depression of prices on the foreign bourses. The final figures from the Department of Commerce show exports and imports of the United States, in the year ending June 30, 1913, of \$4,275,000,000, surpassing the trade of the previous fiscal year by over \$421,000,000. The great increase in exports came chiefly from a growth in manufactured products, which are increasing our foreign trade at a much greater rate than foodstuffs and raw materials.

*Rural
Coöperation
and Credit*

The Commission on Agricultural Coöperation named by President Wilson and the Governors of the various States sailed for Europe on April 26 and returned to this country on July 26, after making investigations in Italy, Hungary, Austria, France, Germany, England, Ireland, and Wales. Sub-committees had been sent to Russia, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Egypt, Spain, and Scotland. Immediately on its return the commission addressed a letter to the Governors and to farmers' organizations giving some of the results of its studies and stating that the commission had been deeply impressed with the vital importance of a thoroughly organized and united rural population, and that in this respect the countries of Europe offer a lesson from which America may profit. It is expected that the report which the commission is to make to Congress before the end of the year will be the basis of legislation to establish a system of rural credits. The commission found that the terms afforded European farmers in the matter of loans are generally better designed to meet their peculiar requirements than are the terms obtainable to-day by the American farmer.

*Government
Crop Loans*

While the Government is planning to extend the credit facilities of the individual farmer wherever possible, it is also interested in having ample resources available for moving the farmers' crops to market. On July 31 Secretary McAdoo announced that he would deposit between \$25,000,000 and \$50,000,000

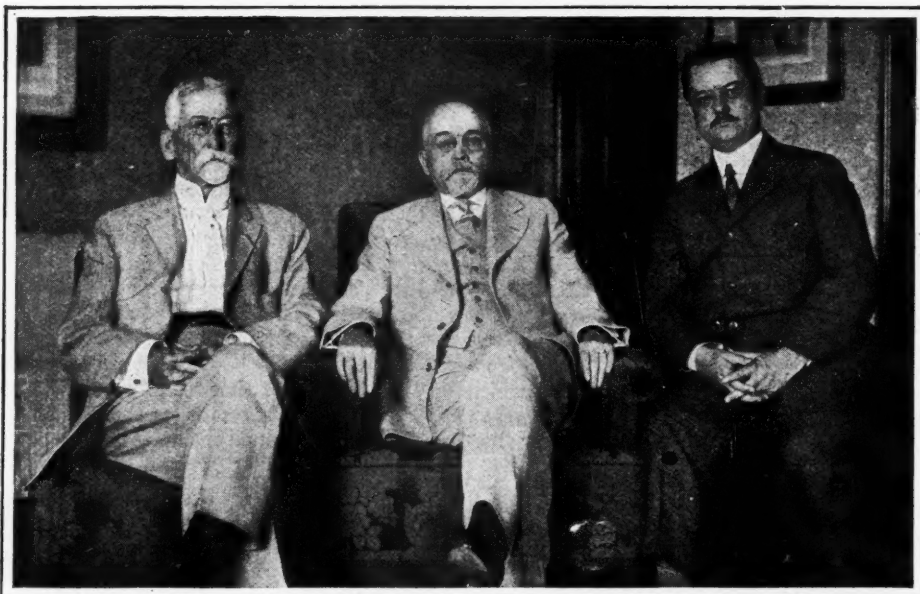
in the national banks of the South and West for this immediate purpose. For the first time in the history of the United States Treasury, commercial paper will be accepted as part security for these deposits. Clearing-house associations of fifty-eight cities were represented in a series of conferences held at Washington on August 7, 8, and 14. At these conferences the details of the proposed loans were explained by Mr. McAdoo and other Treasury officials, and the participants were asked to state their respective needs in order that an apportionment of the loan fund might be made.

*Progressive
Law-Making*

At the time when the article on progressive legislation in the July number of this REVIEW was closed for the press several State legislatures were still in session, and some of the most important measures of the year were enacted after the publication of that article. The Wisconsin Legislature, which adjourned on the last day of July, succeeded in passing two minimum-wage bills—one of them applying to school-teachers—and a mothers' pension bill, besides "blue sky" legislation modeled on that of Kansas, and a bill aimed at illegal combinations of commission men which increase to the consumer the prices of food staples. (The market commission bill to place coöperative enterprises in charge of a State commission was defeated.) The legislatures of Illinois and Pennsylvania also extended their sessions beyond the usual length, and while the results were disappointing to reform leaders in both States, there were certain substantial gains even from the progressive standpoint. Thus the new primary law of Illinois provides for the popular election of delegates to national conventions and separates the Presidential primaries, in time, from the local and State primaries. Pennsylvania now has a direct-primary law applicable to all elected officers, such as Governor Sulzer has been demanding in New York. A Public Service Commission, with full power over rates, has been established, and the factory laws have been amended for the better as regards the hours of labor for women, although the Keystone State still lags in the matter of child-labor restriction.

*The
Paterson
Strike*

The strike of the silk workers of Paterson, N. J., which began on February 25 last and ended on July 28, was a costly experience for the workers themselves, for the silk companies,



Copyright by American Press Association

HON. WM. L. CHAMBERS

HON. MARTIN KNAPP

MR. G. W. W. HANGER

MEMBERS OF THE NEW FEDERAL BOARD OF MEDIATION APPOINTED UNDER THE ERDMAN ACT

and for thousands of the citizens of Paterson who were dependent, directly or indirectly, on the operation of the silk mills for their living. In the first place, during the five months that the 25,000 operatives were idle, nearly \$5,500,000 in wages was lost to them. It is impossible to estimate accurately the loss to the manufacturers, but it can hardly have been less than the loss to the employees.

When we consider that 1200 tenants failed to pay any rents for periods ranging from two to five months, that a number of small storekeepers, butchers, grocers, and clothiers were forced to close their shops, and that during the greater part of the strike the department stores and other large business houses of the city were obliged to cut down their working forces, we can well understand that it will take the people of Paterson at least a year to recover from the effects of this labor war. Furthermore, the mill operatives have almost nothing to show for the enormous cost which they assessed on themselves, their employers, and the general public. They gained neither increase of wages nor shortening of hours, and this is not to say that the strikers did not have grievances that demanded redress. The

simple fact is that the controversy over wages and hours was not settled on its merits. The strike was a life-and-death struggle between the Industrial Workers of the World and the silk manufacturers. The American Federation of Labor was not involved. The manufacturers, having greater resources than the I. W. W., won the fight.

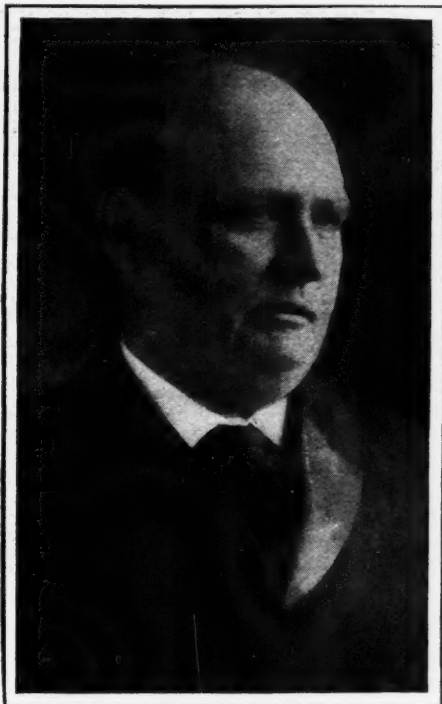
Railroad Arbitration

As was noted in these pages last month, the amended Erdman Act provides for a Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation to act in rail-



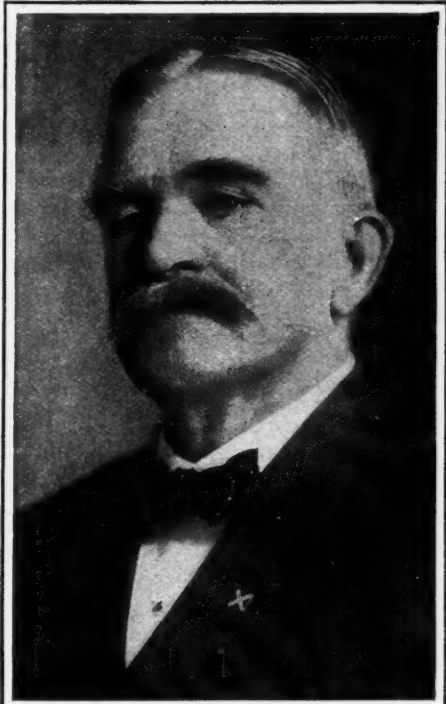
Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

TOM MANN, THE ENGLISH LABOR LEADER, AND "BIG BILL" HAYWOOD, THE I. W. W. ORGANIZER



HON. HENRY D. CLAYTON, OF ALABAMA

(Appointed to fill temporarily the vacant seat in the Senate. Mr. Clayton has been chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House)



Copyright by Bert G. Covell, Birmingham, Ala.

THE LATE SENATOR JOHNSTON, OF ALABAMA

(Mr. Joseph F. Johnston, who had not served many years in the Senate, died on August 8. He was a distinguished Confederate veteran)

road labor disputes with certain other officials designated by the President as a national board. President Wilson promptly named Judge William L. Chambers as Commissioner, Chief Statistician G. W. W. Hanger, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, as Assistant Commissioner, and Judge Martin A. Knapp, of the United States Commerce Court, and the new Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Prof. Royal Meeker, of Princeton, as the third and fourth members of the board, respectively.

*Elections
This Year
and to Come*

Election Day this year falls on the 4th of November. As regards contests of national interest and importance, it is truly an "off" year. Among the States, only three—Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Virginia—are called upon to choose Governors this fall, as compared with thirty-one in 1912 and thirty-eight in 1914. Most of the States have arranged their elections so that they are held in "even" years, along with the national contests. Massachusetts is the only State whose Governor is elected annually, and New Jer-

sey is the only one with a three-year term. Virginia alone, of the remaining forty-six States with two-year and four-year terms, holds an election in 1913. A United States Senator will be chosen in Maryland by direct popular vote, to serve for the unexpired term of the late Isidor Rayner. Senator Jackson is now serving by appointment of the Governor. A similar situation has arisen in Alabama, through the death last month of Senator Joseph F. Johnston; and in the near future his seat will have to be filled by a popular election. The scarcity of political contests of national importance this fall is somewhat made up for by an abundance of mayoralty elections in the larger cities. In New York, for instance, municipal elections are to be held in Greater New York, Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, and Buffalo. In Ohio, mayors are to be chosen in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo. Other important mayoralty elections to be held this fall are those of Boston, New Haven, Bridgeport, Paterson, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Indianapolis, Louisville, and Los Angeles.



Copyright by Zimmerman; photograph furnished by American Press Association, New York

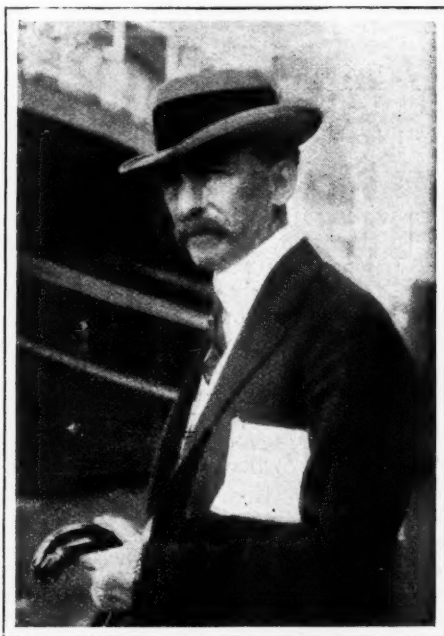
HON. JOHN LIND

(President Wilson's Special Envoy to Mexico)

President Wilson made it plain last month that his policy regarding Mexico was not merely a drifting one, or one lacking in motives or intentions. His policy, like that of the previous administration, assumes that the internal affairs of Mexico belong to the Mexicans, and that, while the United States has greater interests in the country south of the Rio Grande than has any other outside government, there is no ground for interfering or intervening unless some wholly unexpected contingency should arise. Our wishes towards Mexico are those of a good neighbor, hoping to see a régime of constitutional order and liberty soon established. Our Government naturally cares about American citizens and their lawful interests in Mexico, and will be solicitous to protect every American in his rights. But it is not regarded as the business of the Government at Washington to guarantee the comfort or the prosperity of an American citizen who chooses to subject himself in a foreign country to prevailing conditions of disorder that involve no intentional discrimination against Americans.

Should
Huerta Be
Recognized?

As for the recognition or non-recognition of an acting President, the question is purely one of our own judgment and discretion. It was nearly two years after General Diaz had seized the reins of government in Mexico, in 1876, before the United States Government recognized him as President. Great pressure has been brought to bear to cause President Wilson to recognize the Huerta régime in a full and formal way. Through our embassy we have transacted business continuously with Huerta's administration as a *de facto* government, and we have wisely refrained from going any further. The active championship of Huerta by our Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, has been so entirely out of keeping with the course deemed wise by the Administration that his conduct last month was sharply rebuked and bluntly repudiated in an explanation made by President Wilson, through diplomatic channels, to the British Government. The Ambassador, meanwhile, had returned to this country, had clashed with the Administration, and had been informed of the acceptance of his resignation to take effect at the end of his vacation, in October. The embassy at Mexico City had been left in charge of a



Copyright by American Press Association, New York

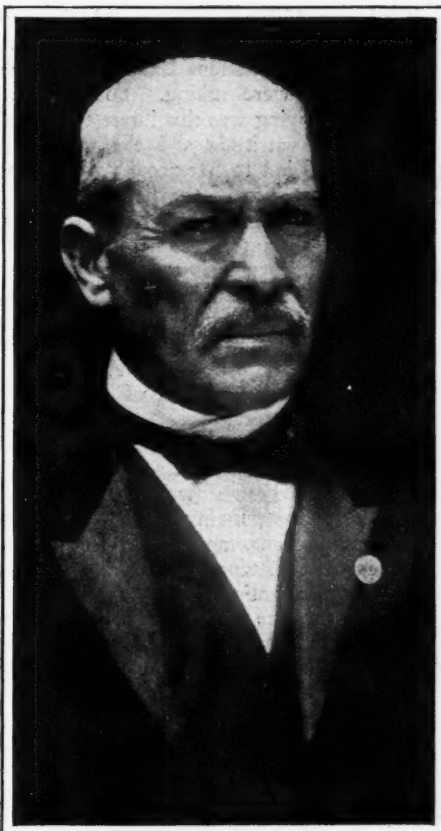
HON. HENRY LANE WILSON

(Whose resignation as Ambassador to Mexico was accepted last month)

very competent and conscientious secretary, Nelson O'Shaughnessy by name.

Efforts to Stop Civil Warfare Secretary Bryan, with President Wilson's concurrence, had desired to bring about, through mediation, an agreement among the factional leaders of Mexico to stop at once their devastating civil warfare and agree upon a provisional government pending the holding of a proper election. When Huerta had overthrown Madero, he had promised to hold an election promptly, and had apparently agreed not to be himself a candidate. It was obviously improper that either he or Felix Diaz should appear as candidates in an election for a new President. Advices have convinced President Wilson that the Huerta régime is not in control of the larger part of the territory of Mexico, and that it has none of that promise of stability which would justify full recognition. A step that was treated with exaggerated sensation by the newspapers soon followed the recall of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson to this country. This step was the sending of the Hon. John Lind, of Minnesota, as especially representing the President, to act as legal and general adviser of our embassy. It was declared at first that Huerta would not receive Lind, and that obstacles would be put in the way of his visit. It soon appeared, however, that Lind had no direct mission to Huerta, and that President Wilson was acting within the technical proprieties in sending Mr. Lind as adviser to our chargé d'affaires, Mr. O'Shaughnessy. The constantly repeated newspaper statement that European governments had somewhat critically questioned our State Department regarding our Mexican policy were declared on the highest authority to be without any foundation whatsoever. On the contrary, the best European opinion seems to have commended President Wilson's patience and discretion. It is natural enough that all European governments should wish to see the immense foreign investments of their subjects in Mexico duly protected. But since intervention from any outside source would be stoutly resisted by the Mexicans, it is reasonable to believe that foreign investments would be further injured rather than helped by armed invasion from this country or from any other.

John Lind as a Strong Personality President Wilson has been strengthening his administration by bringing many men of exceptional talent and character into the public



GENERAL VICTORIANO HUERTA
(Provisional President of Mexico)

service. Mr. Lind, for example, is a man of excellent record and high personal qualities. He has served several terms in Congress, has been Governor of Minnesota, and for a number of years has been president of the board of regents of the Minnesota State University. He is a man of well-poised judgment, of entire detachment from those financial interests that are said to have been trying to force American intervention in Mexican affairs, and of requisite firmness and dignity. It is to be inferred that when better days arrive Mr. Lind will be named as our Ambassador.

Mexico's Interest in Our Attitude The chief interest for Americans, Europeans, and, it might be said, almost literally, of Mexicans themselves, in the Mexican situation during July and August was, beyond a doubt, in the relations of the United States to our neighbor republic. What were the plans of President Wilson and what was the atti-

tude of our Government toward the provisional administration of General Huerta? These were the questions Europeans as well as Americans were asking. So important and overshadowing was this interest in President Wilson's attitude and the mission of ex-Governor Lind to Mexico City that even the warring parties in the field ceased hostilities and awaited the action that would be taken at Washington. There were some minor engagements, it is true, and, on July 24, General Carranza, leader of the so-called Constitutionalists in the North, captured the city of Torreon and later took other towns. Generally speaking, however, America and Europe waited on the action of our Government in the matter.

*Chaos South
of the
Rio Grande*

For months news from Mexico has been slow in coming to the world, owing to the breakdown of communications, and there has been a good deal of confusion in reports. The best sources of information, however, agreed that the Huerta régime was very unsteady. The Mexican treasury is empty, and, without American recognition, Huerta could not borrow money. As we have pointed out already in these pages, revolution and anarchy have laid their hands on most of the centers of population throughout the country. Business is stagnant, and the army is honeycombed with sedition. Foreigners in Mexico are in danger of their lives, while political assassinations and military executions have become so frequent that they no longer even

excite comment. Despite Huerta's promises, the safety of Americans in the border States is guaranteed only by an American border patrol. By the middle of last month it was evident that, even with the handicap of lack of arms, the Constitutionalists were apparently getting the better of the soldiers loyal to Huerta. They claim, furthermore, that if the embargo against bringing in munitions of war from the United States were removed—a measure which had long been urged by many Mexicans and Americans who understand the situation—they would utterly overcome the Federals. By the middle of August the northern states were almost entirely beyond the authority of Huerta, and a number of the bolder rebel chieftains from the South, including the famous Zapata, were parceling up the big plantations and confiscating property in the central states. Zapata is reported to be solving the land question by urging the peons to "squat" peacefully on the lands of the big proprietors and cultivate them, but to shoot anyone who asks for rent.

*More
Outrages Upon
Americans*

The already tense feeling over the disordered state of affairs in Mexico was further embittered when, on July 26, it was learned that Huerta's soldiers in Juarez had shot an American immigrant inspector named Dixon. In response to a sharp note from Secretary Bryan, General Huerta ordered the immediate release of Dixon, who had not been wounded fatally, and the arrest and trial of the soldiers who shot him. The tension of the public mind was further increased over Secretary Bryan's request to Congress, on August 1, to appropriate \$100,000 to be used in aiding needy Americans to leave Mexico.

*As to European
Recognition
of Huerta*

Meanwhile, it had become known in Mexico that President Wilson and the American Congress were opposed to any formal recognition of Huerta as President. A number of prominent Mexicans thereupon began to exert their influence upon Huerta to resign. This he has steadily refused to consider. Most of the European nations and Japan have already recognized Huerta. The official explanation of recognition by Great Britain and Japan was that Huerta was actually in possession of governmental authority, and that failure to recognize him would endanger the lives and property of the natives of these countries in Mexico. Later it was given out



THE DOVE OF PEACE FROM THE NORTH
From the Tribune (Chicago)

in London that Britain's recognition was granted "provisionally, pending an election."

*Lind's Mission
to Mexico*

Growing concern in this country as to the safety of Americans in Mexico and the necessity for some action on the part of our Government was increased on July 22 by a resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Fall, of New Mexico, calling for adequate protection to American citizens residing in foreign countries. In the debate that followed a good many frank things were said that were resented by the Huerta Government. President Wilson, as we have already said, had been considering the expediency of mediation by a commission. It soon became known, however, that this plan would be opposed by both Huerta and the rebels. After the difference of opinion between the President and Ambassador Wilson, and the resignation of the latter, it was announced at Washington that the President had appointed ex-Governor Lind, of Minnesota, as his special representative to go to Mexico City as adviser to the American embassy there.

*His Reception
in
Mexico City*

Mr. Lind left New Orleans on August 9 on the battleship *New Hampshire*, and made the journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico City by regular train, arriving at the Mexican capital on August 10. A note to the American embassy, on August 9, from the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced that "if Mr. Lind does not bring credentials in due form, together with recognition of the Government of Mexico, his presence in this country will not be desirable." This occasioned some concern as to the envoy's personal safety. The next day, however, another note from the Mexican Foreign Office assured our embassy of ample protection for Mr. Lind. The trip to the capital was uneventful. Accompanied by his wife, Mr. Lind took up his residence at the embassy, and conferred with Secretary O'Shaughnessy, but made no formal official statement. Later he had several important interviews with Señor Federico Gamboa, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs. Although the State Department declined to give out exact information as to details, it was generally believed that Mr. Lind let it be known to the Mexican Foreign Minister that the United States would grant recognition only to a Mexican President and Government that had been elected and installed by constitutional means.

*Europe and
Japan Endorse
Our Attitude*

It was also understood that the governments of Europe would be kept informed of the progress of Mr. Lind's mission. President Wilson hoped thereby to convince the world of the disinterestedness of our attitude toward our southern neighbor, and to show that the public opinion of the world condemns his treatment of Madero and the other opponents of his régime. The British announcement that the recognition of Huerta was only "provisional" pending a regular election, and the announcement of the Japanese Foreign Office, referred to in another paragraph, that it would not publicly receive General Diaz as special envoy, have been taken as evidence that Great Britain and Japan acquiesce in President Wilson's Mexican policy. The press of England and the continent is apparently beginning to understand the real nature of our attitude toward Mexico. The London *Times* exhorts Mexico to accept the American terms of restoring order, but "speaks for Europe" when it warns our Government "against the attitude of neutrality and non-intervention persisted in until it wears almost the aspect of shrinking from duty and responsibility, until it produces the very crisis it is intended to avert."

*Prospects
of an
Election*

While it is reported that the elections, expected to take place in October, have been indefinitely postponed, it is now believed that the low state of Huerta's finances and the disapproval of the rest of the world, which is being gradually manifested to him, will compel him to make at least a formal appeal to the voters at an early date. Huerta's chief rival for the presidency, General Felix Diaz, has been gotten rid of by being sent as Ambassador to Japan, with rather unpleasant consequences to himself, as we have already noted. It is believed that in an election, even though Huerta himself should be a candidate, the leaders of the new Liberal party, Manuel Calero and Florez Magon, would easily win. Calero is a familiar name in this country. He was Ambassador for six months at Washington last year. He is an exceedingly able lawyer, and is acquainted with the United States and the American people. He would have the probable support of the elder Diaz faction, the "Científicos," and a large number of the former adherents of Madero. Florez Magon was a member of the Madero cabinet, and the most practical and the most successful of that unfortunate President's advisers.

*Some Facts
from the Cana-
dian Census*

An analysis of the figures of the Canadian census, completed toward the end of 1911, and now published, shows that the population of British origin is still in the majority, not only in the Dominion as a whole, but also in every province with the exception of Quebec. Although this majority is smaller than it was when the census of 1901 was taken, the figures show that the continental European immigration is not increasing, while the English-speaking American additions to the population are becoming greater. Five-sixths of the land sold during the last ten years by the great railway companies and other land-owning corporations is now occupied by English-speaking people. The increase of the English element during the decade in question, moreover, contrary to expectation, is the greatest of all, showing a gain of more than 44 per cent. The French-speaking population in Quebec increased by 24 per cent. After the French comes the German. In British Columbia the Chinese population, despite the heavy poll tax, has apparently increased slightly. But the white population of this Pacific province has increased even more rapidly, and to-day, to quote from one of the Government census bulletins, "the presence of the Chinese laborer cannot be said to constitute an economic danger." The Dominion, it will be remembered, is as much concerned in treating Japanese immigration with a wise regard for the future of its own population as are the Pacific States of our own country.

*Are We
to "Protect"
Nicaragua?*

In the last days of the Taft administration a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua for the exclusive right to construct an interoceanic canal across that country and to use the Gulf of Fonseca on the Pacific as a naval base. In consideration \$3,000,000 was to be paid to Nicaragua and it was stipulated that the money was to be spent on public works and education. This treaty, with only minor modifications, pending in the Senate when Mr. Wilson became President, has been endorsed by his administration, and late in May Secretary Bryan asked the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to ratify it. Owing to the pressure on the Senate's time by the tariff and currency bills, the administration did not ask immediate action on the Nicaraguan treaty, but Mr. Bryan has asserted that enough Senators are in favor to make its eventual passage certain. In substance, the treaty would give the United States control of

the foreign relations and finance of the Central American republic and the right to intervene "to preserve Nicaraguan independence and protect the lives and property whether of Americans or foreigners." This would mean a virtual protectorate over Nicaragua similar to that which the United States now exercises over Cuba by virtue of the Platt amendment to the Cuban Constitution and analogous to our relations to the Republic of Panama. By this means President Adolfo Diaz hopes to get insurance against revolution.

*Hostility
in Central and
South America*

The endorsement of the treaty by the Wilson Administration occasioned a good deal of discussion in the newspapers by the enemies of the administration over what was called "new imperialism" and interference in Latin-American affairs. It became known later that Mr. Bryan had offered to make similar treaties with Honduras and Salvador, but that representatives of these countries in Washington had declined to entertain the proposition. The government of Costa Rica, though not openly consulted, also expressed its opposition to any such plan. In Latin-American circles there has been much opposition to what has been called the American invasion of Central America, and the President of Salvador is reported to have declared that such a policy would make "forever impossible the proposed Central American union, the great ideal of these countries." There is a tendency in the South and Central American press to regard this and President Wilson's Mexican policy as the beginning of a movement to establish a protectorate over all countries between the Rio Grande and Panama. However, if the new policy is extended, the extension will undoubtedly come on the initiative of the southern republics themselves and not from any overt act on the part of our government.

*Endorsement
of the Bryan
Peace Plan*

The South American nations have apparently taken kindly to Secretary Bryan's peace plan. Up to the middle of last month all the countries of the southern continent had approved of this plan, Paraguay, which agreed on August 12, making the twenty-eighth to approve out of thirty-nine invited. The treaty with Salvador, signed on August 7, for five years, was the first one formally concluded. This treaty, which embodies the Bryan peace idea, calls for investigation and deliberation before any acts of hostility. Thus, says the Washington correspondent of the *New York Her-*

ald, referring to affairs in Mexico, Central America, Venezuela and Cuba, as well as to recent developments in our relations with Japan, "as President Wilson's Latin-American policy emerges from the melting pot, it is seen to be a complete acceptance of responsibility for policing the turbulent republics of Central America in return for a 'hands off' policy by Europe and Asia."

*A New Castro
Revolt—
Colombian
Amenities*

With the exception of a new Castro revolt in Venezuela, which, early last month, seemed to have been effectively crushed by President Gomez, who had been given dictatorial powers, and the violent expression of popular resentment against ex-President Leguia, of Peru, for some obscure political intrigue, the republics on the continent of South America have been pursuing their peaceful way. Castro, with a small party of revolutionists, landed on Venezuelan shores late in July, and was soon at the head of an army which was reported to be marching upon Caracas. President Gomez at once moved against him with an army, and, it was reported, on August 9, defeated him in the Orinoco region. Two United States cruisers were ordered to Venezuelan waters to protect American interests. In Colombia there is becoming evident an increasing desire to resume cordial relations with the United States. In his message, sent to the Colombian Congress on July 20, President Restrepo expressed the hope that a perfect understanding would soon be arrived at between the two countries—"an understanding that becomes daily more necessary, owing to the early opening of the Panama Canal, and the peculiar necessities of Colombia's maritime provinces."

*Argentina and
American
Beef Packers*

In the Congress of Argentina, late in July, the Government introduced a bill for the control of monopolies somewhat along the lines of the Sherman anti-trust law. This law applies to foreign corporations as well as domestic concerns, and is regarded as the result of the inquiry and discussion concerning the conduct, in Argentina, of American beef packers. Secretary Houston has sent Dr. A. D. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, to investigate the general business of slaughtering and packing in Argentina with a view to "expediting the entry into this country of fresh beef when the new tariff becomes effective." During July the con-

gress of the Republic of Paraguay ratified a treaty of extradition with the United States. Paraguay is the last South American nation to conclude such an agreement with our Government.

*Bills in the
British
Parliament*

During the last days of its summer session the British Parliament considered a number of measures radically affecting the entire United Kingdom. The importance of these measures to Great Britain is not diminished by their apparent local application. The four chief measures, which have all passed their third reading in the House of Commons, are Irish Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, Scottish Temperance, and Plural Voting. The Lords rejected the Home Rule bill for the second time on July 16. The ministry will introduce it again in the Commons early next spring, and then it will become a law in spite of the peers. The disestablishment of the Welsh Church, without, however, disendowing it, will also be put into practical effect as soon as the ministry can do so. The Scottish Temperance act, prescribing the conditions of sale and consumption of liquor in Scotland, and the general franchise bill abolishing plural voting, will also be advanced as rapidly as may be. Immediately upon the second rejection of the Irish Home Rule bill by the Lords, the Premier announced definitely in the Commons that a measure abolishing the hereditary house would be introduced in the next session of Parliament. The ministry intends to reconstitute the second chamber upon an elective basis. Parliament was prorogued by King George on August 15.

*New
Social-Reform
Measures*

Other important measures which will be introduced early in the next session, if the ministry has its way, include a scheme for redistributing parliamentary seats, a measure prohibiting newspaper prize competitions that require the payment of an entry fee, a new law regulating the money-lending business, a bill for the nationalization of coal mines, and a number of measures dealing with different phases of the land question, all ardently advocated by Chancellor Lloyd-George. A Unionist member has introduced a bill establishing wage boards for agricultural laborers. This measure is being watched and supported by a group of very keen English social reformers in both parties. It proposes to set up, in certain specified counties of the United Kingdom, district boards constituted somewhat as

the present minimum-wage boards in the coal industry. These boards are to have power to fix a daily wage rate compulsory within the district, which will secure, "so far as is practicable, to the agricultural laborers affected, a living wage having reference to the cost of living in the districts."

*The "Votes-
for-Women"
Campaign*

The campaign of the militant suffragettes continues. A number of women have been convicted of attacks on property, and Mrs. Pankhurst, alternately in prison and on the stump, continues to arouse her co-workers in militancy. It is generally admitted, however, that the so-called "Cat and Mouse" act, passed at the instigation of Home Secretary McKenna, has had some effect in calming the militants. In accordance with this law, a militant who has been convicted of law-breaking is confined in jail until her health is in danger. She is then released, but may be rearrested as soon as her health is recovered. In this way she is forced to serve out the full term of her sentence. The leaders of the woman-suffrage movement in England claim that despite these setbacks their cause is making considerable progress. One of the more conservative of these leaders, Catharine E. Marshall, writing in *The Englishwoman*, an organ of the movement, for August, says that the suffragettes are placing a great deal of confidence in the support of the English Labor party, which, at its last annual conference, decided by a large majority "to oppose any franchise bill in which women are not included." Miss Marshall says that the women are hoping for the return of the Liberal government at the next election with a small majority, and a Labor representation demanding the enfranchisement of women strong enough to put pressure on the government.

*Britain's
Naval
Program*

Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, in announcing, on July 17, in the House of Commons, the naval programs for the years 1914-15, declared that since Britain could not be sure of the three Canadian battleships promised (owing to the conflict of policy between the two houses of the Canadian Parliament), the Admiralty had decided to "accelerate the construction of three ships of the British program." He stated further that while for years probably coal would remain the basis of England's sea power, oil had become so important to the navy as fuel that most of the new warships will be built

for oil consumption. The Admiralty, furthermore, will set up an oil business of its own." Next month this magazine hopes to present to its readers a comprehensive article on the oil production of the world. A subsequent announcement declared that next spring there would be a redistribution of Britain's naval force in the Mediterranean, the Admiralty intending to increase the number of vessels at the West Indian station and erect a great naval base at Bermuda or Jamaica. A good deal of journalistic nonsense has been written about this as a challenge on the part of Great Britain to American control of the Panama Canal. When it is considered, however, that Britain's naval strength in the Caribbean has always been slight, it is quite natural for her, as the first shipping nation in the world, to make provision for the safeguarding of her commercial interests in this western hemisphere when the great canal is about to be opened to commerce. Of course, no nation thinks of challenging the naval supremacy of the United States in the South Atlantic and the Caribbean.

*French
Finances*

After a discussion which lasted for more than thirteen months, both houses of the French parliament have adopted the budget for 1913. Seven-twelfths of the revenue provided by this budget had already been voted "on account," in order to permit the government to carry on its functions. The delay was caused principally by the bitterness of the agitation for and against the three-year military service bill. This bill was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on July 7, and by the Senate just one month later. It will bring the standing army of France up to nearly 800,000 men. The parliament passed the budget without any decisive action on the subject of the income tax, which has been agitating official France for nearly three years. Consequently the definite sources of the new revenue needed, mainly for military purposes, has not yet been determined. The figures of the Minister of Finance showed a deficit of approximately \$2,000,000. The opposition insists that "politics have prevented the minister from stating the exact extent of the disquieting total." The French money market is very much concerned over the Balkan situation, and the final disposition to be made of the foreign debt of Turkey. French bankers are also becoming interested in the commercial possibilities of their colonies in the West Indies and the Pacific upon

the opening of the Panama Canal. Government proposals for the enlargement and improvement of harbors in these colonies are already being studied by these financial men.

*End of the
Krupp Scandal
in Germany*

Although the sentences pronounced upon the seven officials of the Prussian War Office who were convicted, on August 5, for accepting bribes from the Krupp company in return for military information were very light, sufficient evidence was brought out at the trial to indicate that there was an unfortunately broad foundation for the charges made against them. Last April, it will be remembered, as we noted in these pages at the time, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, one of the leaders of the Social Democrats in the Reichstag, taking advantage of the freedom of speech permitted in the German Parliament, asserted that the agent of the Krupp gunworks, of Berlin, had bribed officers of the War Department and obtained secret plans of the Government. This agent, said Dr. Liebknecht further, had learned the bids of rival firms for munitions of war, and thus enabled the Krupps to shut out competition. He also charged that, with the connivance of the government, the Krupp firm had fomented rumors of impending war in France, Germany and England for the sake of securing orders for war materials. Dr. Liebknecht sent copies of incriminating documents to the Minister of War, and afterwards presented them to the Reichstag.

*The
Court Martial*

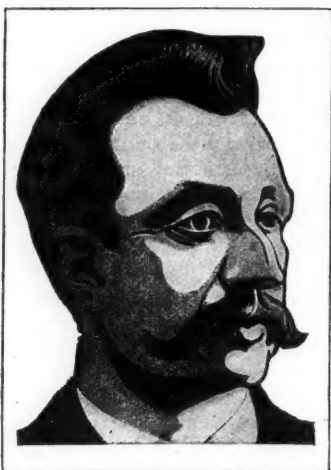
The War Minister, General von Heeringen, resigned, and the government felt compelled to take up the case. A court martial was therefore instituted on July 31, and seven officials of the War Department placed on trial. Whenever the documents in question were read, the judges went into secret session, but the officers on trial have admitted that the information given in these documents would, "if communicated to a foreign power, have been of the highest importance." In defense of their action, the accused men asserted that they believed the Krupps and the German Government to be one and the same thing, and that the War Minister himself had been ordered to give them—the accused men—all possible information. The trial was ended by the sentence of the seven men to imprisonment for terms varying from two months to a year. The court regretted that "this case has cast unjust suspicion on the German officials and army."

*The Chancellor
Denounces
Socialism*

Referring to this trial and the sentences of the military court at Erfurt on some army reservists who had indulged in a drunken brawl, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg delivered in the Reichstag an impassioned denunciation of the Socialists, who, he said, "made a canker-ing sore in the Empire" and "are responsible for the unfortunate prejudice which has begun to appear against militarism." In this connection, all the friends of universal peace will find most interesting reading in Herr Lamszus' extraordinary little book, "The Human Slaughter-House," which has so stirred Germany during recent months, and a notice of which appears on another page of this REVIEW this month. Another volume on the finer side of German character is Frederic W. Wile's collection of sketches of "The Men Around the Kaiser," which we summarize on page 321. Mr. Wile accords high place in this work to August Bebel, the veteran leader of the German Socialists, who died on August 13, at the age of 73. We have quoted a few of his graphic sentences summing up the achievements of the old "Socialist lion." The bill for the increase of the army, which, as we noted last month, was passed by the Reichstag on June 30, has occasioned the imposition of such increased taxes that popular opposition is manifesting itself in unusual ways. Up to August 1 more than 200 petitions of protest had been received by the government from powerful associations of all kinds in every part of the empire.

*Victory
of the Dutch
Liberals*

The victory which the Dutch Liberals won in the elections (on June 25) has proved an embarrassing one. The Liberal leader, Dr. Kirk Bos, who was asked by the queen to form a ministry, found himself dependent very materially on the Socialist deputies for his majority. The government has fifty-five votes, of which eighteen are Socialist, against forty-five of the opposition. In order to consolidate his majority, the leader, in his effort to form a cabinet, offered to David Troelstra, the Socialist leader, three portfolios—for himself and two of his colleagues. The Socialists of Holland, however, in congress assembled at Zwolle on August 12, "warned by the experience of France with Briand," voted down by a substantial majority the resolution to permit any of its members to enter a coalition cabinet. Dr. Bos, who is the Liberal leader, is a stout defender of the principle of free trade. His program in-



DR. KIRK BOS, THE DUTCH LIBERAL LEADER
(Who tried unsuccessfully, for a month, to induce three Socialists to help him form a ministry)

cluded "the preservation of the national schools threatened with clericalism by the last government," the upholding of free trade, the attainment of universal suffrage, "non-contributory" old age pensions, and "an increased proportion of direct taxation from those best able to bear it."

Among the more serious problems that face the government at The Hague, that of preserving

Holland's neutrality and guaranteeing her defense against invasion is the most important. The much discussed coast defense bill providing for new armaments, including the fortification of the port of Flushing and the general military protection of the East Indian colonies, was passed early in the summer. While these preparations against war were being made, the Twentieth Universal Peace Congress, under the presidency of the Prince Consort, was being held at the Dutch capital from August 18 to 20. Among the subjects discussed by representatives of all nations at this congress those of the most general interest were: "What the Press Might Do for the Cause of Peace" and "Commercial Rivalry and International Relations," the second being presented by the famous Frenchman Yves Guyot, and the equally famous Englishman and writer of books on international peace, Norman Angell. The Peace Palace at The Hague, founded largely through the munificence of Andrew Carnegie, was formally opened on August 28.

The Dutch Centenary

This summer the Dutch complete the first century of their liberation from the France of Napoleon. After the Battle of Leipzig, in 1813, in which Napoleon was defeated, the French were driven out of Holland and the House of Orange once more recalled to power. In November of that year the Prince of Orange, son of William V, returned from England and was proclaimed William I of the Netherlands. It is the centenary of this historic event that was commemorated with manifestations of patriotism in the little country of dikes and dunes. Since the beginning of the twentieth century Holland has come to be looked upon by the world chiefly as the home of that splendid international tribunal at The Hague by the agreement of all the civilized powers of the world for the settlement of disputes between nations. The first world peace conference was held in the Dutch capital in 1899, and the second in 1907. When the beloved Queen Wilhelmina, at the age of eighteen, ascended to the throne of her fathers (in 1898) the reform of Dutch franchise laws had begun. Electoral reform has been one of the mooted questions in Dutch parliamentary procedure ever since. One of the most important pieces of legislation passed by the States-General during recent years was a law (in 1903) making railroad strikes illegal. Other questions of coast defense, colonies and a new customs tariff have engaged public attention during recent years.

The Dutch Dynasty and Character

One of the most appealing and important events of Dutch history since the beginning of the century was the marriage of Wilhelmina to Prince Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. In 1909 the birth of their first child, the little Princess Juliana, was received with great popular rejoicing. The Dutch feel that there is less to fear in the menace of German absorption—always a great bugbear to the Netherlands—now that they have an heir to the throne. Holland is one of the centers of European civilization and progress, and it cannot fail to be of great interest and profit to traveling Americans this year to see this very modern little kingdom as it really is. There is probably no country of Europe in the track of the tourist about which there is so much misapprehension as Holland. Thanks to the genial Washington Irving, who, in his *Knickerbocker History of New York*, was the creator of the stage Dutchman, there has been a general impression abroad

of Holland as a rather antiquated country, peopled by a lot of stout folk who wear baggy trousers and wooden shoes. Many of us, however, have to learn, and a great many more to be reminded of the fact that so well has the little Dutch nation managed its affairs that in addition to taking care of its home government, it holds the reins over a vast empire of 35,000,000 Orientals, and, at the same time, keeps abreast of the commercial, industrial, educational and artistic world of civilization.

*A Crisis in the
German-Czech
Struggle*

The four years' conflict between the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia reached a critical stage late in July, when the Emperor dissolved the Bohemian Diet, suspended the provincial constitution and declared that the affairs of state would be administered by a bi-racial commission of seven—four Czechs and three Germans. The causes of German-Bohemian bitterness are all traceable to the difference in language and race. Measures of practical politics do not separate the two peoples. Of the population of 7,000,000 in Bohemia, nearly 75 per cent. are Czechs. The Germans, however, holding, as they have generally done, important administrative offices, have been able to keep up what would otherwise have been a hopeless contest. Several deadlocks during recent years, with consequent failure to pass budgets and the resultant delay in carrying out administrative measures and necessary public works, made some sort of a compromise necessary.

*The Bohemian
Constitution
Suspended*

In the summer of last year it was agreed that as the price of political peace the provincial budget would be divided between the two nationalities in proportion to population, and the judicial and administrative offices in the districts would be determined by the character of the population, while the rule as to languages, German and Bohemian, would be settled by local law for the local officials and imperial law for the state officers. As a result of the nationalistic agitation of the Croats and Slavonians, and largely because of the triumphs of the Servians and other Slavs in the war against Turkey, the Czechs in Bohemia again pressed their demands for predominance, and, by the beginning of the present year, a complete deadlock had resulted in the Diet at Prague. The exchequer was empty and no money could be voted. The crown then stepped in and temporarily suspended Bohemian autonomy. The Minis-

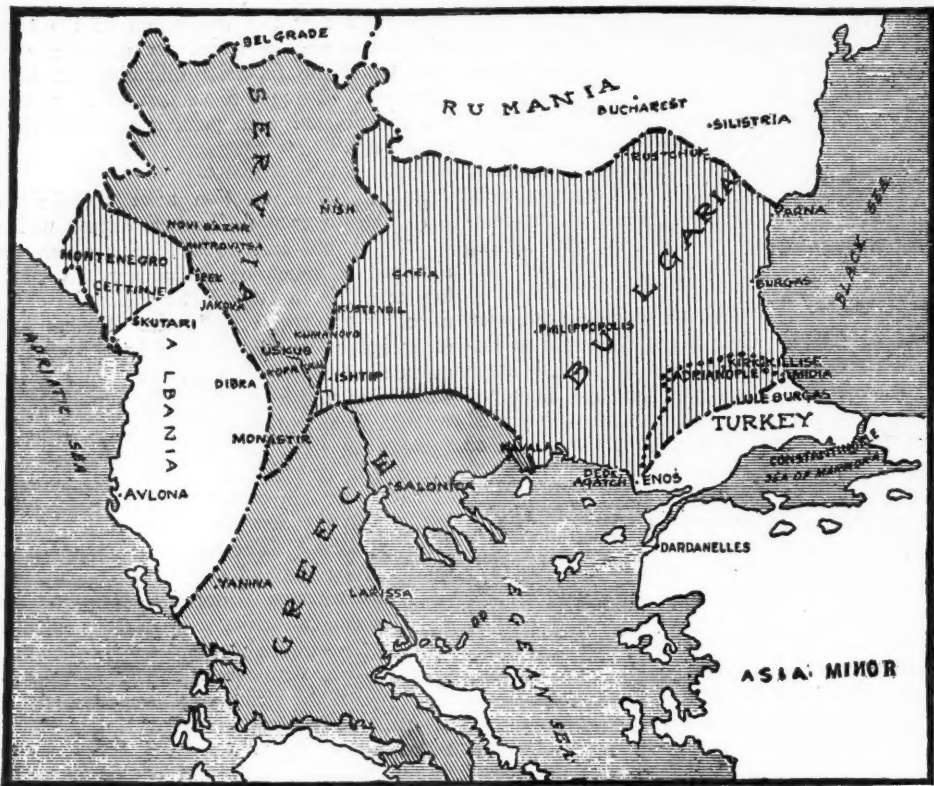
ter of the Interior at Vienna, however, has announced that this suspension of the constitution is only a temporary measure, and that when the financial difficulty has been overcome, "it ought to be possible to restore the constitution with possibly a wider electoral basis."

*The Strike
in Italian
Cities*

The reaction after the Italian war with Turkey, during which the state in its foreign adventure absorbed so much of the country's wealth, has been felt in Italy in an industrial crisis affecting the entire peninsula. Strikes and other industrial disturbances have been frequent since the war ended. In June a strike for higher wages among a large number of workers in automobile factories in Milan was thought to have been compromised by the agreement, on the part of the employers, to "devote a certain sum to raise certain wages, but not to increase the remuneration of all their workers." The men refused to accept this, and by the end of July practically all the metal workers of northern Italy had declared a general strike in sympathy with the men in the automobile factories. Then the street railway employees in Milan and other cities joined the strikers and a general tie-up of all the industries of the kingdom was threatened. The military was called out to repress disorder, and some rioting and violence took place in Pisa, Genoa, Turin, Venice, Naples and Bologna, as well as in Milan itself. On August 11 the united Syndicalist and Socialist workmen's associations proclaimed a general strike. The next day, however, before there had been a general participation in the movement, the strike was called off. Martial law had been declared in Milan, and there was much complaint of arbitrary action on the part of the military authorities. It is reported that while the strike has been a failure on the face of it, nevertheless the employers have practically agreed to the demands of the workers.

*End of the
Second Balkan
War*

The second Balkan War, ending in the triumph of Rumania, Serbia and Greece over Bulgaria, was concluded by the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest on August 10. This treaty, after providing for the evacuation of Bulgaria by the Rumanian, Servian and Greek armies, the demobilization of the Bulgarian forces and the resort to arbitration by Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, in the event of a disagreement over the new frontiers, divides up the troubled Balkan region as in-



THE NEW BALKANS AS MAPPED OUT BY THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST
(Showing the Greater Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania and Montenegro)

dedicated on the accompanying map. Bulgaria gains the largest amount of territory, although not so much as she claimed after her victory over Turkey. Greece, on the other hand, is given the longest sea front, which, to a maritime nation such as the Greeks are, is of considerable importance. In the Greek acquisition are the important ports of Salonica and Kavala. It was over the possession of these cities chiefly that the Bulgars argued and fought. A certain portion of the territories assigned to Bulgaria may still have to be conquered from the Turks a second time. This portion is indicated by the dotted lines on the map. While the Bulgars were being pressed by their allies, the Turks took advantage of their extremity and crossed the line agreed upon by the Treaty of London, which closed the first Balkan war, and retook Kirk Kilisse and Adrianople. Even before the treaty was signed the Russian press advocated forcible ejection of the Turks, but the jealousy of the Powers prevented any agreement as to who should act.

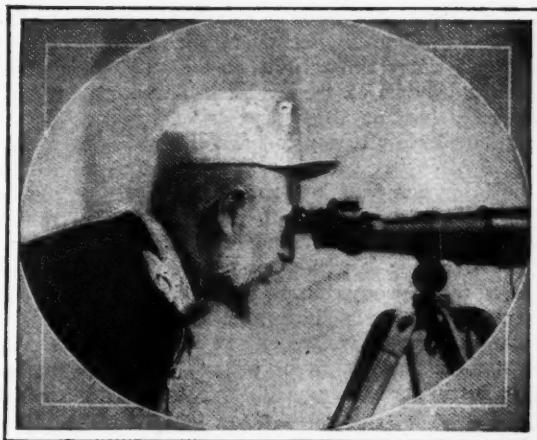
What
Rumania and
Serbia Gain

To Rumania is assigned a slice of northeastern Bulgaria, which she has always wanted to round out her Black Sea front. The desire to possess this was one of the reasons for her joining in the conflict. The main, if not the sole, purpose of the Servians, it will be remembered, in attacking Turkey, was to secure an outlet to the sea either on the Adriatic or the Egean sea. The second Balkan war leaves this ambition still unsatisfied. The European Powers prevented Serbia from getting her "window on the Adriatic" at Durazzo. Having beaten the Bulgarians, the Servians wanted Kavala on the Egean, but Greece objected, since that city, one of the great tobacco centers of the world, is inhabited almost entirely by Greeks. The Servians finally persuaded the Powers to let them have commercial rights on the Egean. They also won back old Serbia and their ancient capital, Uskub. Even Montenegro, which did not take any active part in the second war, and from which nothing has been heard since last

May when King Nicholas was forced by the great powers to give up Scutari, gets a small share of territory, the Sanjak of Novi-Bazaar and part of northern Albania.

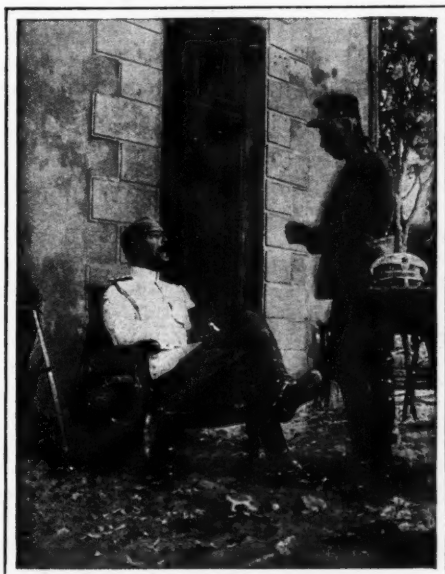
*Causes of the
Second War*

We have already explained in these pages the origin of the disagreement between the allied Balkan nations after their victory over Turkey and the reason for Rumania's entrance upon the scene. Let us recall them briefly. According to the agreement made before the war with Turkey, the territory to be occupied, and which was occupied by the victorious allies, was to be proportioned upon a prearranged plan. After the war the great powers of Europe stepped in and set up, out of the territory which was to have fallen to the share of Servia and Greece, the autonomous principality of Albania. Bulgaria refused to recognize this new condition, or the justice of the Greek and Servian demands for compensation for the loss of Albania, and also for any return for their support of the Bulgarians in the operations in Thrace. The Bulgars refused to give over any of Macedonia to the Servians and Greeks. It is generally admitted that the claims of the Bul-



KING CHARLES OF RUMANIA, WATCHING THE MOVEMENTS OF HIS TROOPS ON THE BATTLEFIELD
(He is using the very latest pattern of field glasses)

gars after the first war were arrogant, and that they went far to confirm the general belief that Czar Ferdinand, speaking through his Premier, Dr. Danev, really aimed to make Bulgaria the Prussia of the Balkans. Moreover, the feeling of hostility was intensified by persistent reports of blood-curdling atrocities perpetrated by the Bulgarians on Servian, Greek and Turkish population regardless of age or sex. In order, therefore, to chastise the Bulgarians for the barbarities of which they had been accused and to secure a fairer distribution of territory, the Greeks concluded with the Servians a secret treaty of offense against Bulgaria.



THE DEMOCRATIC KING CONSTANTINE, OF GREECE, AT HIS ARMY'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE WAR WITH BULGARIA

*The Rumanian
Case Against
Bulgaria*

There is a clash of statements as to which side began the attack, but the best evidence would seem to indicate that the Bulgarians first assumed the offensive by moving upon Salonica and by attacking the Greek and Servian lines in Macedonia. By accident, the plans of General Savov, commander of the Bulgarians, the victor of Kirk Kilisse, Lule Burgas and Adrianople, fell into the hands of the Greeks. The latter, with the Servians, at once attacked the Bulgarians, who had fallen into the fatal mistake of underrating their adversaries. The Servian army, under the Crown Prince, and the Greek army, under King Constantine himself, were slowly forcing their adversaries back, when Rumania entered the arena from the north. The Rumanian quarrel with Bulgaria dates back to 1878, when the Treaty of Berlin gave the Rumanians certain territory which was after-

wards partly absorbed by Russia and partly given to Bulgaria. Rumania has coveted the strip of Bulgarian territory on the south side of the Danube containing Silistria and some other important cities, and has long been striving by diplomacy to have this ceded to her. Moreover, Rumania, with a natural regard for her own interests, has feared just such a predominance in the Balkans as Bulgaria was apparently aiming at after her victory over the Turks. King Ferdinand refused to make any concessions to the demands from Bucharest. Therefore, the splendid Rumanian army was mobilized and marched across the Danube, taking the exhausted Bulgarians in the rear.

*Ferdinand
Asks Peace
Terms*

While the Rumanians fought no actions worth mentioning, it was their presence within thirty miles of Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, that finally induced King Ferdinand, all the efforts of his cabinet having failed to secure European help, to apply at once to King Charles for terms of peace. Meanwhile, the Porte had announced its purpose to reoccupy all the conquered territory up to and including Adrianople. On July 21 the celebrated Envir Bey, who had fought the Italians so valiantly in Tripoli, with a small mobile Turkish force, entered Adrianople, the Bulgarian garrison retreating before him. In reply to the overtures of Czar Ferdinand, King Charles of Rumania arranged with his allies for an armistice, and later called for a peace conference, which met at Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, on July 30. There were proposals and counter proposals submitted by Bulgaria and her allied enemies, but the final result was the treaty of peace, the chief terms of which we have set forth in a preceding paragraph. Thus ended the second of the two Balkan wars. During these conflicts, according to figures compiled by correspondents in the field, 358,000 persons died. Other estimates from reliable sources showing the number of men sent into the field by the different Balkan nations in the two wars, the losses sustained and the financial expense, have been summarized by a member of the Italian War Office as follows. It is certainly a ghastly total of dead. Bulgaria—350,000 soldiers mobilized; 80,000 dead; \$300,000,000; Servia—250,000 soldiers; 30,000 dead; \$160,000,000; Greece—10,000 dead out of 150,000; \$70,000,000; Montenegro—8,000 dead out of 30,000; \$4,000,000; Turkey—450,000; 100,000 dead; \$400,000,000. For the second war:

Bulgaria—60,000 dead; \$180,000,000; Servia—40,000 dead; \$100,000,000; Greece—30,000 dead; \$50,000,000. But that was not all. How many were wounded, mutilated, or otherwise rendered unfit to meet the demands of after life may be guessed from one little advertisement which appeared in a German paper on August 1. It read: "Three thousand artificial legs wanted by the government of a nation at present in war." The British War Office estimates that more than \$900,000,000 was the cost of the first war, and \$300,000,000 the cost of the second, a total, approximately, of a billion and a quarter of money spent, with all the loss of life and damage to property, and yet no definite settlement of the points at issue.

*Is It a Peace
or Only a
Truce?*

That this peace is not a final one, and perhaps little more than what the Austrian Foreign Office has called it, a long truce, is shown by the fact that the great powers have very different opinions of the treaty of Bucharest. Austria and Russia, anxious that Bulgaria shall not be unduly weakened, have both declared that they "reserve the right to revise the peace treaty." Germany and France, on the other hand, are opposed to any revision, and, according to an official report from Paris, will insist upon having the peace now concluded made final. In a speech made on August 13, in the House of Commons, by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary declared that there was a "real basis" for the hope that Austria and Russia would abandon their demand for a revision of the Bucharest treaty. But an early revision seems likely, and it will come when Austria or Russia feel strong enough to demand it. As to the Turkish occupation of Adrianople, which the new treaty has assigned to Bulgaria permanently, the representatives of the great powers, in a joint note, on August 6, emphatically informed the Porte that Turkey must accept the treaty of London which ended the first Balkan war. Pressure will probably be exerted on the Turks if they fail to comply with this demand, not by armies, but, according to an official statement from Paris on August 15, by "withholding all money from the Ottoman Government until the evacuation of Adrianople is ordered."

*The Barren
Fourth Duma*

The fourth Russian Duma closed its first regular session late in July, after seven months of life, and adjourned until November. Lit-

tle was accomplished during those months, and the Russian press, radical as well as conservative, is unanimous in declaring the session barren of any material results. Of the large number of bills introduced by the government and passed by the Duma, only two are worth mentioning—one simplifying civil procedure, and the other partially reforming the administration of justice in ten western provinces. Most of the time was spent in debates over the budget which increases yearly, but without any apparent benefit to the people. The deputies seemed never weary of condemning the policies of the administration in long and vigorous speeches, but the effort of the radical groups to bring the government to terms by refusing to vote the appropriations was frustrated by the conservative elements, who passed them by substantial majorities. To the disappointment of both the government and the Liberals, there was no permanent working majority.

*Strike
of a
Cabinet*

The Duma witnessed an incident unprecedented in the history of parliaments—a strike of ministers. Markov, a deputy of the "Right," addressed an insulting remark to Premier Kokovtsov while debating the appropriation for the Ministry of Finance, and the Cabinet decided not to attend the sessions of the Duma, a resolution they adhered to absolutely. Neither the Duma nor the Ministers made any move toward a reconciliation, and the session was adjourned without having settled the difference. The day on which the session closed, was, tragically enough, marked by the announcement of the Minister of Public Instruction that the secondary schools of the Empire have now passed under control of the secret police.

*"Hunger
Hooliganism"
and Its Causes*

One of the results of the oppressive laws and backward conditions in Russia generally to-day is the appearance, during the past year or two, of "hunger hooliganism." Assaults, depredations on property, robberies and similar crimes are of daily occurrence, and the police are apparently indifferent. The situation has become so serious that Maklakov, Minister of the Interior, recently called a conference of governors and other high government officials to consider measures against the evil. As yet, however, the administrative wisdom of the Russian bureaucracy does not go further than the time-honored method of "suppression." It was decided to give the

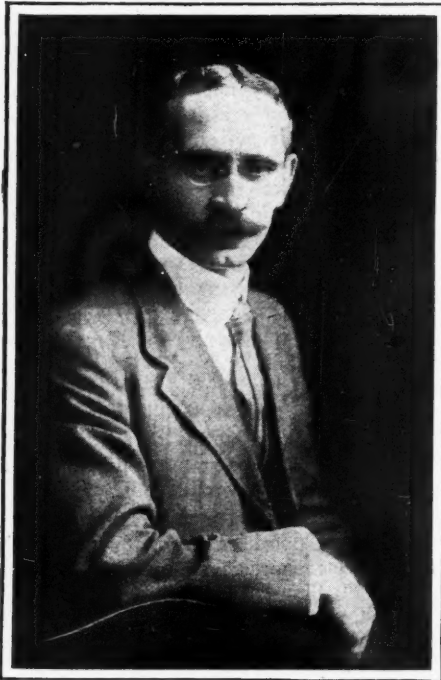
governors special powers to deal with the hooligans summarily without trial. This measure proved to the liking of the provincial autocrats, and they applied it so vigorously that the Minister was compelled to advise them to use their power with more discrimination. But Russian hooliganism has its causes far deeper than such measures go. It is no doubt mainly due to the dire poverty of the people and to alcoholism, which is one of the largest sources of income to the government. Last year there was realized from the sale of alcoholic drinks, which is a government monopoly in Russia, more than 800,000,000 rubles (\$400,000,000). Minister Maklakov with an amazing frankness finds that the severe climate of Russia makes alcohol "a vital necessity to the masses"—not a very statesmanlike point of view as westerners would consider it.

*Does Yuan
Shih-kai Aim
at a Crown?*

Opposition to what are called the monarchical aspirations of Yuan Shih-kai, provisional President of China, resulted, early in July, in the breaking out of a serious revolt against Yuan. Three provinces seceded, and five more threatened to follow. There was considerable fighting in the Southern provinces, Shanghai was set on fire by bombardment on July 30, and a number of other towns in the Yangtze valley suffered severe loss in the fighting. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the inspirer of the recent revolution which swept away the Manchus, and first provisional president of the republic, is apparently behind the revolt. Dr. Sun is an idealist. Reform in his country is not progressing fast enough to suit him. He accuses Yuan of "intolerable tyranny." Moreover, he relies upon the benevolent interest of Japan and Russia.

*The
Revolt Against
Him*

Yuan, on the other hand, of a more practical mind, has, despite a certain brutality in the treatment of his enemies, inspired confidence by his engineering of the recent foreign loan and the vigor with which he has administered the government. He has been able to pay the Northern troops, who are favorable to him, and it would seem that the Southern revolutionists would find it impossible to make headway against him, if for no other reason than the lack of funds. It was reported, by the middle of last month, that the revolt had been crushed, but that "no bloody reprisals would be taken upon the vanquished." Dr. Sun directed the movement against Yuan from Tokyo. On



Copyright by Harris & Ewing, Washington

DR. PAUL S. REINSCH, OUR NEW AMBASSADOR
TO CHINA

another page this month we present a sketch of Yuan from the pen of an American journalist, who lived for some years in China and has recently returned. Our own relations with the Peking Government continue excellent. Late in July Professor Paul Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, the well-known writer on international political and economic topics, was appointed by President Wilson to be Minister to Peking. Dr. Reinsch represents the best type of American public men, the scholar of broad sympathies and ethical outlook, in politics for the public weal. He has had a good deal of experience in foreign lands, and has represented the United States at several Pan-American conferences.

A New Japanese Note

Early last month it was announced that the Japanese Government had prepared a new note for presentation to our State Department in answer to Secretary Bryan's communication of July 16, concerning the California alien land ownership legislation. The new note, it was reported, defended the position already taken by the Japanese Government that the land ownership bill violates the Japanese-

American treaty. The special arbitration treaty with Japan, which would have expired by limitation in July, was extended, on June 28, by protocols signed by Secretary Bryan and the Japanese Ambassador, but not immediately ratified by the Senate. Meanwhile, the Japanese Emperor has received the Hon. George W. Guthrie, the new American Ambassador, most cordially, and declined to receive General Felix Diaz, the leader of the Mexican revolutionists that overthrew Madero, who was recently sent by provisional President Huerta as a special ambassador to Japan, lest such reception be misinterpreted in the United States.

Strike in the Rand Mines

The strike of the gold miners in the Rand, South Africa, during July, not only paralyzed the industry, but threatened to undermine the entire government. The miners have been dissatisfied for years with the conditions under which they work. It has been said by Hon. John Merriman, Premier of Cape Colony, that the Rand miners pay "a higher price for their high wages than any other class of workers in the world." The white workers in the South African mines number between 10,000 and 12,000. They labor under very unfavorable sanitary conditions, and usually die before the age of forty, after less than ten years' service. Not less than 10,000 die in the mines every year, chiefly from miner's phthisis, a disease corresponding to pulmonary tuberculosis, due to the inhalation of fine dust from rock drilling and blasting without water spraying. The chairman of the Committee on Industrial Diseases, appointed by the British Government in 1907, to investigate conditions throughout the empire, reported that 90 per cent. of the Transvaal rock drillers died within two years after they returned to England.

Demands of the Men

On July 1 the men struck for "a flat minimum wage rather than the regular system of an allowance and living expense." They also demanded an eight-hour day, the abolition of Sunday labor, more liberal compensation in case of accident and disease, recognition of the union and a special session of parliament to enact "adequate legislation for safeguarding free speech and free public assembly." This last demand followed the proclamation of the government declaring that "owing to the unsettled conditions, all meetings of more than six people are illegal." It was in enforcing this last regulation that the police

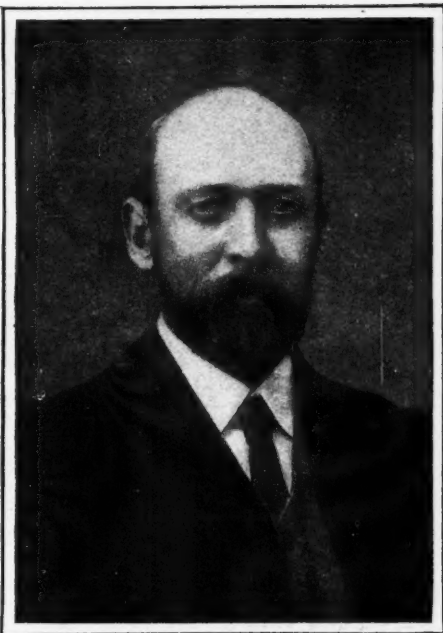
and the British regulars were brought into collision with the mob at various points in the vicinity of Johannesburg, and which converted the revolt into almost an anarchist war. There was much rioting and destruction of property. Martial law was proclaimed on July 29.

*Dilemma
of the
Government*

After forty rioters had been killed and more than one hundred persons altogether had lost their lives, the strike was practically terminated by certain concessions on the part of the mine owners. The men, however, insist that the conditions upon which the operators recognized the unions "practically destroys their independence and usefulness to the workers." On the other hand, the mine owners accuse the unions of inciting the large force of black natives working in the mines to outrages upon the whites. There has been much criticism of the Botha Government for using the imperial regulars in subduing the strikers, and the federated unions of the South African Union have demanded the recall of Governor-General Gladstone. By the middle of last month it looked as though, by compromises on both sides, the situation had become normal. Legislation to improve the condition of the mine workers has now been introduced in the South African Parliament, and the Ministry of Mines has invited Colonel William C. Gorgas, who cleaned up Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone, to inspect the Rand mines and suggest improvement in health conditions.

*The New Liberal
Government in
Australia*

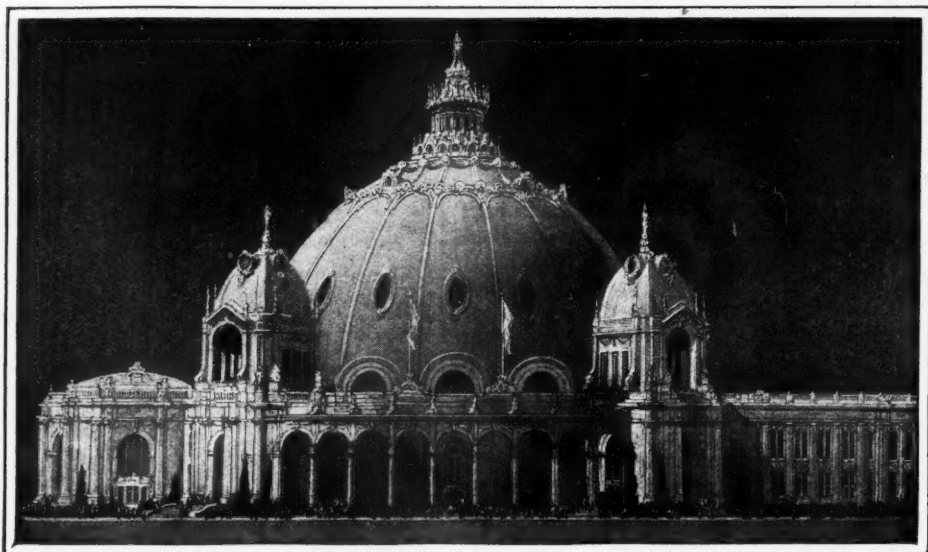
When, after several weeks of uncertainty, the results of the Australian general elections of May 31 were finally announced, and it was learned that the Labor party, in power for three years, was in a minority of one vote in the popular chamber, Premier Fisher handed in his resignation to the Governor-General. Late in July Mr. Joseph Cook was summoned by the representative of the Crown to form a new ministry. Mr. Cook became leader of the Liberal party last spring upon the resignation, on account of ill health, of Alfred Deacon, the Fusion leader. Mr. Cook, who was originally a miner in Australia, soon showed his ability to lead, and became recognized head of all the opposition forces to the program of the Fisher Labor government.



JOSEPH COOK, THE NEW PRIME MINISTER OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

*A Close
Election*

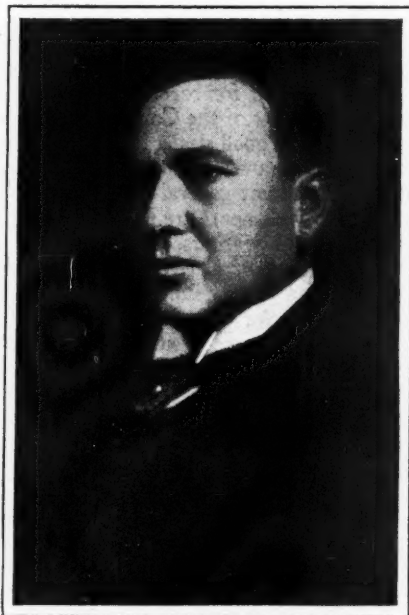
In the main, the administration of the Labor party, which dominated for three years during the fourth parliament of the Commonwealth, was a good one. A good deal of opposition, however, had arisen over the way the government handled the recent general strike. The Australian Labor elements are not in favor of the immigration of workers, while it would appear to be the general conviction of the Australian nation that immigration is a highly desirable thing for the country. A distinctive feature of the recent election was a referendum on six important amendments to the constitution, looking toward reforms in connection with trusts and monopolies, strikes and lockouts, trade cooperation and commerce in general. These referenda were defeated. The three women candidates for membership in the Federal Parliament were also voted down. Instead of a majority of 12 for the Labor Party, the Fusion coalition, Free Traders, Protectionists and Liberals, have now a majority of one. The Senate, however, remains under Labor control and the Cook Government will probably not find its rule an easy one.



Copyright, 1912, by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Co.

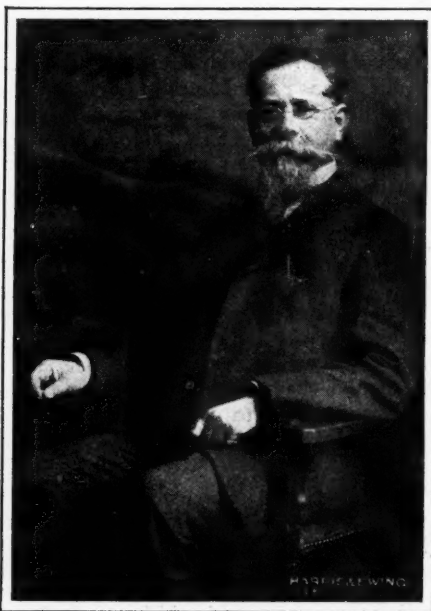
**FESTIVAL HALL, PLANNED FOR THE PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, TO BE HELD
IN SAN FRANCISCO, IN 1915**

(In this hall will be held the various important world conventions and assemblies scheduled to meet during the Exposition period at San Francisco)



HON. MANUEL CALERO

(Formerly Ambassador to the United States, who, it is predicted, will occupy a prominent position in the readjustment of political affairs in Mexico. Señor Calero is a lawyer with an extensive practice in both Spanish and English. See page 283)



GEN. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

(Leader of the Constitutionalist party in Mexico, and a prominent opponent of the Huerta régime. The Carranza forces control a number of the northern provinces of Mexico. Gen. Carranza is Governor of the revolt-
ing state of Coahuila)

Copyright by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

TWO IMPORTANT FIGURES IN THE MEXICAN SITUATION

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 16 to August 14, 1913)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 13.—In the Senate, the Tariff bill is reported from the Finance Committee; the resolution of Mr. Bristow (Rep., Kan.), inquiring as to the amount of salary necessary to enable Secretary Bryan to drop his lecture tours, is tabled by vote of 41 to 29.

July 19.—The Senate begins debate on the Tariff bill, Mr. Simmons (Dem., N. C.), chairman of the Finance Committee, analyzing and defending the measure, and Mr. Cummins (Rep., Ia.) criticizing it as unjust and discriminating.

July 21.—In the Senate, Messrs. Burton (Rep., Ohio) and Smoot (Rep., Utah) speak against the Tariff bill.

July 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) endorses the principle of the Democratic income-tax measure, but advocates the raising of the exemption line; Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) concludes his criticism of the Tariff bill.

July 29.—In the House, Republican and Progressive members criticize the Administration for the delay in prosecuting the Diggs-Caminetti "white slave" cases in California.

July 31.—In the Senate, Mr. Thornton (Dem., La.) attacks the free-sugar section of the Tariff bill, and announces that he will not support the measure.

August 2.—The Senate completes its discussion of amendments to Schedules B and D of the Tariff bill; Mr. Walsh (Dem., Mont.) states that he will support the measure, although opposed to the free-wool provision.

August 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.), a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, vigorously opposes the adoption of currency legislation at the present session. . . . The Democratic members of the House Committee on Banking and Currency vote, 11 to 3, to submit the Currency bill to a party caucus.

August 6.—In the Senate, Mr. Lippitt (Rep., R. I.) speaks on the cotton schedule, charging the Democrats with favoring Southern mills and discriminating against those of New England.

August 11.—The House Democrats, in caucus, begin consideration of the Administration measure revising currency and banking.

August 14.—The Senate sustains the Finance Committee's amendments to the Tariff bill placing wheat and fresh eggs on the free list. . . . The Senate Democratic caucus adopts a resolution recommending that Congress consider currency and banking legislation immediately following the passage of the Tariff bill.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

July 18.—The President nominates William L. Chambers as the first Commissioner of Mediation and Conciliation, and G. W. W. Hanger as Assistant Commissioner; Charles S. Hartman, of Montana, is nominated to be Minister to Ecuador.

July 19.—Secretary of State Bryan lays before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations the draft of the proposed treaty with Nicaragua, involving virtual control of the international affairs of that republic. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission orders the reduction of freight rates to Duluth, by rail and lake, from Eastern points.

July 22.—Archibald C. Hart (Dem.) is elected to Congress from the Sixth New Jersey District, succeeding the late Lewis J. Martin (Dem.). . . . The President nominates Royal Meeker, of New Jersey, to be Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

July 23.—George W. Hays (Dem.) is elected Governor of Arkansas to succeed Joseph T. Robinson, resigned. . . . James M. Sullivan, of New York, is nominated by the President to be Minister to Santo Domingo.

July 24.—The entire Michigan National Guard is called out to preserve order in the copper-mine district at Calumet. . . . L. E. Pinkham, of Hawaii, is nominated to be Governor by the President. . . . Mrs. Ella Flagg Young resigns as superintendent of the public schools of Chicago.

July 25.—The Postmaster General authorizes the increase of the parcel-post limit to twenty pounds in the first two zones, and a reduction in rates for those zones to five cents for the first pound and one cent for each additional two pounds. . . . The President nominates George C. Todd, of New York, as Assistant to the Attorney-General, and Charles S. Hamlin, of Massachusetts, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs. . . . The Wisconsin Legislature passes a bill requiring a health certificate before the granting of a marriage license.

July 26.—The President nominates John William Davis, of West Virginia, to be Solicitor-General. . . . Governor Tener signs bills creating a public-service commission in Pennsylvania and reducing the working hours of women from sixty to fifty-four a week.

July 28.—Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo charges that the market for Government 2 per cent. bonds has been depressed below par by New York bankers to help defeat the proposed currency-reform bill.

July 29.—Charles F. Marvin, head of the Instruments Division, is promoted to be Chief of the Weather Bureau.

July 31.—Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo announces that he will deposit \$50,000,000 in national banks of the South and West to help in the harvesting and movement of crops, accepting commercial paper as part security.

August 1.—John Purroy Mitchel (Dem.), Collector of the Port of New York, is nominated for Mayor by the general fusion committee; District-Attorney Whitman (Rep.) is renominated, and Borough President McAneny (Dem.) is selected for President of the Board of Aldermen. . . . The California Railroad Commission orders reductions in express rates within the State which

will save shippers \$750,000 annually. . . . The Mayor of Chicago appoints ten women as members of the police force.

August 2.—The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, by vote of 8 to 4, rejects Secretary Bryan's radical treaty with Nicaragua. . . . Governor McGovern approves the "blue sky" bill passed by the Wisconsin legislature.

August 4.—The President accepts the resignation of Henry Lane Wilson as Ambassador to Mexico. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission makes final its order that the express companies adopt and observe for two years, beginning

August 11.—A resolution to impeach Governor Sulzer is introduced in the New York Legislature following the report of the special investigating committee.

August 13.—The New York Legislature, after an all-night session, impeaches Governor Sulzer by vote of 79 to 45. . . . The Governor of Alabama appoints Congressman Henry D. Clayton (Dem.) to succeed the late Joseph F. Johnston (Dem.) in the United States Senate. . . . The President nominates William J. Price, of Kentucky, to be Minister to Panama.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

July 16.—Serious revolts against the Yuan Shih-kai Government are reported throughout the southern provinces of the Chinese Republic.

July 17.—Three members of the Argentine cabinet resign because of disagreement over foreign loans for public works.

July 18.—Tsen Chunhsuan is proclaimed President by the revolutionary leaders of southern China.

July 19.—The French Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 358 to 204, adopts the bill increasing the term of compulsory military service from two to three years. . . . The province of Kwang Tung, China, proclaims its independence.

July 20.—A coalition cabinet is formed in Bulgaria, under the premiership of M. Radoslavov.

July 21.—The province of Fu Kien secedes from the Chinese Republic.

July 22.—The British House of Lords rejects the Welsh Disestablishment bill.

July 23-24.—The garrison of the Kiang-Nan arsenal at Shanghai repulses several attacks by a large force of revolutionists.

July 24.—The House of Lords rejects the bill abolishing plural voting in the British Isles.

July 25.—The French Chamber of Deputies passes the budget (\$960,000,000).

July 26.—Chinese Government troops take possession of the city of Chin-kiang; the province of Hu-Nan secedes.

July 30.—The province of Kwang Tung renounces its proclamation of independence. . . . The French Senate passes the Budget bill. . . . It is reported from Venezuela that ex-President Castro has begun revolutionary measures at various points on the Colombian frontier.

August 1.—The Venezuelan Federal Council authorizes President Gomez to assume dictatorial powers until the revolutionary movement is suppressed. . . . General Huerta, Provisional President of Mexico, declares that he will neither resign nor permit foreign interference. . . . P. W. A. Cort van der Linden is intrusted with the formation of a cabinet in the Netherlands, to be selected from outside the Parliament.

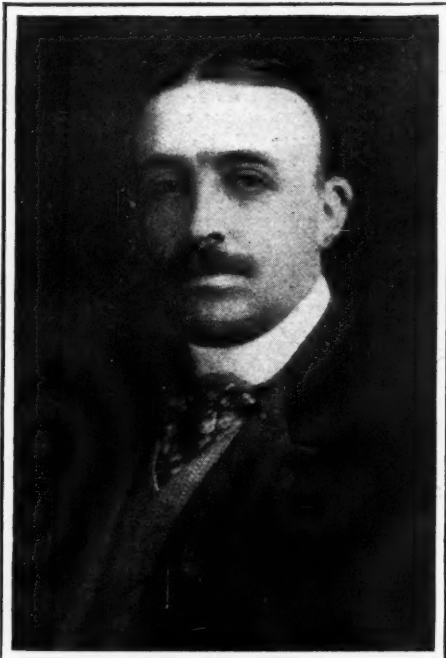
August 6.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen, former Provisional President and a leader in the recent revolution, flees from China on a ship bound for Formosa.

August 7.—The French Senate passes the three-year military service bill, by vote of 245 to 37.

August 10.—Ex-President Leguia is exiled from Peru.

August 12.—The Venezuelan revolution is declared a failure by the American consul at Caracas.

August 13.—Chinese revolutionists and Govern-



Copyright by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

HON. NELSON O'SHAUGHNESSY

(Secretary of the American Embassy in Mexico, and chargé d'affaires following the resignation of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson)

October 15, the schedule of rates prepared by the Commission, the reductions averaging 16 per cent.

August 5.—The President nominates Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, to be Minister to China.

August 6.—The President sends to the Senate the nomination of Preston McGoodwin, of Oklahoma, to be Minister to Venezuela.

August 7.—The President nominates Madison R. Smith, of Missouri, to be Minister to Haiti.

August 8.—Testimony and exhibits before the special investigating committee of the New York Legislature tend to show that Governor Sulzer used unacknowledged campaign-contribution checks in personal stock-exchange transactions.

August 10.—Governor Sulzer issues a statement formally denying that he used campaign checks for private purposes or that he speculated in Wall Street.

ment troops engage in looting Canton City, 1200 persons being killed in the fighting; the revolutionists in the province of Kwang Tung for the third time fly their flag over the Governor's residence at Nanking. . . . The Italian decennial census shows a population of 34,671,377, an increase of 1,750,000.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 18.—The Rumanian troops advance to within thirty miles of Sofia; King Ferdinand informs King Charles of Rumania that Bulgaria is ready to negotiate terms of settlement.

July 22.—Turkish forces retake Adrianople and Kirk-Kilisseh with but little opposition from the Bulgarian garrison.

July 25.—Austria warns Serbia and Greece that Bulgaria should not be too greatly humiliated in the arrangement of peace.

July 26.—At the request of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, the Rumanian advance is halted ten miles from Sofia, the capital.

July 27.—The United States demands the arrest of Mexicans responsible for the shooting of Charles B. Dixon, Jr., United States Immigration Inspector at Juarez.

July 29.—The conference of ambassadors at London settles the status of the new state of Albania; an international commission is to control pending the choice of a prince.

July 30.—Representatives of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, and Montenegro meet at Bucharest to arrange peace terms; an armistice is agreed upon A Bulgarian attack upon Greek troops at Djuma, south of Sofia, results in the most sanguinary engagement of the war. . . . The British Government informs the American Ambassador that it will not participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco in 1915.

July 31.—It is announced at Washington that Germany has declined to participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

August 1.—It is stated at St. Petersburg that Russia has decided not to take part in the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

August 4.—Ex-Governor John Lind, of Minnesota, is sent to Mexico as the personal representative of President Wilson to attempt a settlement of the revolution.

August 5.—Sir Edward Grey denies, in the House of Commons, that Great Britain's decision not to participate in the San Francisco Exposition was due to the Panama Canal controversy.

August 6.—A compromise agreement is reached by the peace conferees at Bucharest. . . . The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, by order of President Huerta, declares that Mr. Lind will be regarded as an undesirable envoy unless he brings recognition of the existing government.

August 7.—The first of Secretary Bryan's peace treaties is signed with Salvador.

August 10.—A treaty of peace is signed at Bucharest by representatives of Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, bringing to a close the six weeks' war against Bulgaria.

August 11.—Mr. Lind, the special envoy from the United States to the Huerta government, arrives in Mexico City.



MR. HOWARD ELLIOTT, THE NEW HEAD OF THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD

(Mr. Elliott, a railroad administrator of wide reputation, comes from the Northern Pacific Railway, of which he had been president for ten years, to occupy the newly created post of chairman of the board of directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. He succeeds Mr. Charles S. Mellen, who resigned on July 17, as active head of the New Haven system)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 16.—Dr. Robert Bridges is appointed Poet Laureate of England. . . . The Sixth International Congress on Religious Progress is opened at Paris.

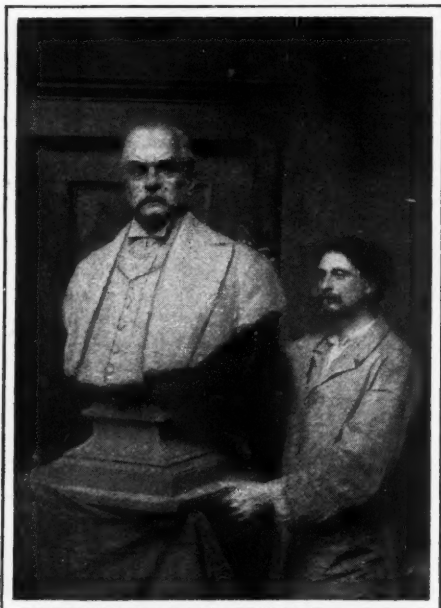
July 17.—Charles S. Mellen resigns the presidency of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. . . . The foreign trade of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30 shows unprecedented totals, imports amounting to \$1,812,621,160 and exports of \$2,465,761,910.

July 22.—A factory fire at Binghamton, N. Y., results in the death of forty persons, mostly women and girls.

July 23.—The strike of silk workers at Paterson, N. J., which lasted five months and affected 25,000 employees, is abandoned.

July 25.—Howard Elliott, president of the Northern Pacific, is chosen president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad.

July 28.—The American lawn-tennis team de-



SCIARRINO PIETRO, THE NEW YORK SCULPTOR, AND HIS BUST OF THE LATE J. P. MORGAN

(The bust, to be cast in bronze, is to be placed in the public park of Ascoli, Italy, in recognition of the return by Mr. Morgan, a few years ago, of the famous cope of Pope Nicholas IV., which had been stolen from the cathedral at Ascoli)

feats the British players, at Wimbledon, England, in the deciding match for the Davis Cup.

August 2.—Nineteen persons are killed and a score seriously injured in two explosions in a mine of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, near Tower City, Pa.

August 6.—John Henry Mears, arriving at New York City, completes a trip around the world for the *New York Evening Sun* in 35 days, 21 hours, and 35 minutes, breaking the previous record by nearly four days, and averaging 27½ miles an hour. . . . The International Medical Congress is opened in London, with 10,000 persons in attendance.

August 7.—Capt. S. F. Cody, the aviator, is killed with a passenger in an accident to his machine at Aldershot, England. . . . A general strike at Barcelona, Spain, throws 75,000 men out of work and closes 260 factories.

August 8.—C. Murvin Wood, flying in a monoplane from Hempstead, L. I., to within sixteen miles of Washington, establishes a new American record for a non-stop flight across country.

August 10.—Internal-revenue collections (including the corporation tax) for the fiscal year ending June 30 total \$344,424,453, exceeding all previous years. . . . At the end of the first week of a general strike at Milan, Italy, it is estimated that twenty-three persons have been killed, including nine soldiers, with thousands arrested; 30,000 soldiers are on strike duty.

August 12.—A general strike proclaimed throughout Italy is declared to be a failure excepting in Pisa and Genoa.

OBITUARY

July 19.—Alford W. Cooley, formerly Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Civil Service Commissioner, and justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court, 40. . . . Marlin E. Olmsted, of Pennsylvania, a member of the Fifty-fifth to the Sixty-second Congresses.

July 20.—Brig.-Gen. Carl A. Woodruff, U. S. A., retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 72.

July 21.—Zephaniah Hopper, for more than seventy years an instructor in the elementary and high schools of Philadelphia, 88.

July 22.—Anthony N. Brady, the lighting and traction magnate of New York, 68.

July 24.—J. W. Sauer, Minister of Justice in the South African Union.

July 26.—Christopher Christopherson, a former Foreign Minister of Norway.

July 29.—Thomas C. O'Sullivan, a prominent New York City jurist. . . . Tobias Michael Carel Asser, a member of the Hague Court of Arbitration and the Dutch Council of State, 75.

July 30.—Sir Richard Powell Cooper, owner of extensive farm lands in England and in North and South America, 65.

July 31.—Prof. John Milne, the noted English authority on earthquakes, 63. . . . Louis Charles Paulin Passy, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies since the establishment of the Third Republic, 83. . . . Dr. Hiram Collins Haydn, former president of Western Reserve University, 81.

August 3.—William Pitt Preble Longfellow, a prominent Massachusetts architect and author of works on architecture, 77. . . . Sir William John Lyne, former Treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, 69.

August 4.—George Hitchcock, the painter, 63.

August 5.—Vernon H. Brown, for many years American agent of the Cunard Steamship Company, 81. . . . Samuel W. Williams, Populist candidate for Vice-President in 1908, 62.

August 6.—Robert C. Ogden, the New York City merchant, noted for his work for Southern education, 77 (see frontispiece). . . . Justice Samuel P. Hall, of the California Court of Appeals.

August 7.—William Wallace Screws, editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser* and former Secretary of State of Alabama, 74.

August 8.—Joseph F. Johnston, United States Senator from Alabama, former Governor, and Confederate veteran, 70. . . . Father Ohrwalder, the famous Austrian missionary in the Sudan, 58.

August 9.—Carl N. Eichler, the violinist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, 87. . . . William R. Finch, ex-Minister to Paraguay and Uruguay, 68.

August 11.—Bishop William Tufnell Sabine, of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 74. . . . Dr. Itibere da Cunha, Brazilian Minister to Germany.

August 12.—Judge Uriah M. Rose, a member of the second international peace conference at The Hague, 79. . . . Prof. Edwin E. Goldmann, a noted German authority on cancer, 51. . . . Aime Morot, a French painter, 63.

August 13.—August Ferdinand Bebel, the German Socialist leader, 73.

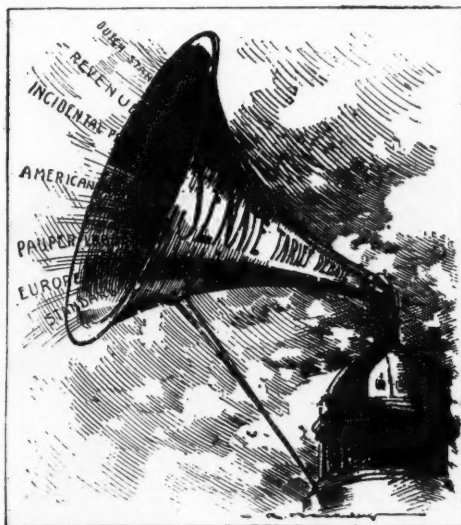
August 14.—Gen. Edward F. Jones, a noted Civil War officer and New York manufacturer, 85. . . . Rear-Admiral Silas Casey, U. S. N., retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 72.

CARTOONS ON CURRENT TOPICS



THE DOCTOR

(The President, having given Uncle Sam the tariff bitters, is now administering to him the currency pill, while Secretary Bryan stands approvingly by)
From *Truth* (Boston)



ONLY A LITTLE LONGER

(And then, with the tariff bill finally passed, the Senate gramophone will change its tune, taking up the discussion of the currency bill)

From the *World* (New York)

THE tariff and currency reform continue to be the main subjects of debate in Congress, with side excursions into the Mexican situation, the lobby investigation, and the possibility of war with Japan.

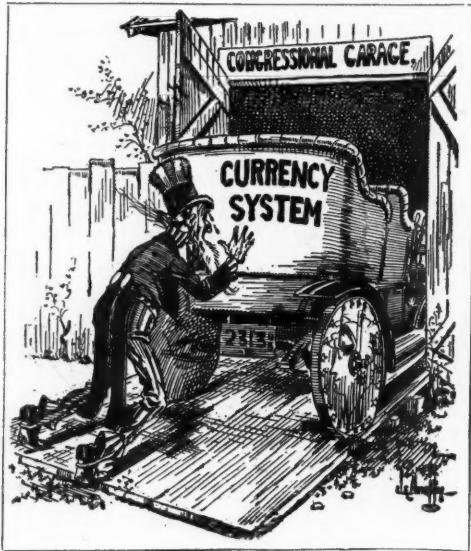


Copyright, 1913, by the Philadelphia Inquirer Co.

THE BABES IN THE WOOD

(The President and the Secretary of State in the midst of their problems)

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



IN FOR REPAIRS

(Uncle Sam's monetary machine is now being overhauled in the Congressional garage)
From the *Journal* (Portland, Oregon)



FLAGGED!

(The threatened railroad strike was happily averted by arrangements for arbitration)
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

A number of industrial and financial topics were prominent last month. Among these were the currency reform bill, and Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo's plan to assist the movement of crops in the South and West by means of Government funds. What threatened to be a serious railroad strike was averted by an agreement to arbitrate the differences between the companies and the employees, with the help of a Federal board of mediators appointed by the President. The reduction of express rates ordered by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the increase in the size of packages available by the parcel post, were considered additional blows to the express business.



A HANDY VEHICLE IN EMERGENCY

(Referring to the plan to aid the movement of the crops with Government funds)
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)



GIVING HIM ANOTHER BITTER PILL

(Referring to the reduction in express rates and the extension of the parcel post)
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth, Minn.)



WHY NOT SWEEP AT HOME?
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

Various reports have appeared in the public press to the effect that certain European governments had demanded that the United States take some immediate action in the Mexican situation. Hence Mr. Ireland's cartoon in the Columbus (Ohio) *Evening Dispatch*, suggesting that Europe clean up her own Balkan region. Ambassador Wilson's endeavor to impress his views of the Mexican situation on the administration is humorously portrayed in Mr. French's cartoon in which the Ambassador urges the President to wear the "Huerta government hat." Mr. Lind's mission to Mexico is indeed a delicate one, as the car-



ANXIOUS MOMENTS
From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

toonist suggests, especially in view of the hostile attitude that had been at first assumed toward the plan by the Huerta Government, putting it in the position of the incorrigibles in the cartoon who "don't want to be saved." Subsequent reports, however, indicated a more conciliatory attitude toward the American envoy and his errand.



A TICKLISH JOB IS MR. LIND'S
From the *Central Press Association* (Cleveland, Ohio)



THE INCORRIGIBLES
From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)



KISMET

TURKEY (in Adrianople): "Quite like old times being back here!"

EUROPE: "Ah, but you will be kicked out you know!"

TURKEY: "Well, that'll be like old times, too!"

From *Punch* (London)



A STUBBORN GROWTH

THE WORLD (viewing the great crop of bayonets on his face and realizing the inadequacy of the razor of diplomacy to keep them down)—"What would I not give for a good safety razor!"

From the *Graphic* (London)



GLORIOUS TIMES!

"Why do we carry such heavy burdens?"

"Well, my master tells me I must carry him, as otherwise you will attack me!"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



A BROKEN LULLABY

EUROPA: "Oh, hush thee, my baby!"

THE INFANT ALBANIA: "How can I hush me with all this infernal noise going on?"

EUROPA: "Well, you must do as I do, and pretend you don't hear it."

From *Punch* (London)

THE STORY OF EMERSON, HIGH PRIEST OF THE NEW SCIENCE OF EFFICIENCY

BY HERBERT N. CASSON

HARRINGTON EMERSON is the man who made Efficiency a national slogan. It was he who startled the nation by saying, "I can show the railroads how to save a million dollars a day." It was he who first discovered for himself the principles of Efficiency, in a remarkable career of romance and adventure, and who then persistently compelled the whole United States to respect the new ideas and to listen to the gospel of Efficiency.

Efficiency!

Thanks to Emerson and his co-workers, this word has become the keynote of American business. It is the watchword of our trade conventions. It is the text of speeches, endorsed by Harvard University, by the City of New York, by the Federal Government. It is no longer a mere set of theories. It has been so widely adopted, by corporations and public officials, that we may fairly call it the art of success, worked out from the American point of view.

The Emerson definition of Efficiency is "the elimination of all needless wastes, in material, in labor and in equipment, so as to reduce costs, increase profits and raise wages."

The Roosevelt definition is "applying the conservation principle of production."

The Brandeis definition is "universal preparedness."

My own definition is "the securing of a higher percentage of results, by applying scientific methods to the activities of the business world."

No definition, however, can be very accurate, for the reason that Efficiency is new. Very little of it has been written down in books. As a general tendency, it is everywhere; but as a clear-cut system of thought, it exists only in the minds of a comparatively small number of men.

Those who appreciate and understand Efficiency are too busy to explain it to others. They are applying what they know

and learning more. Naturally, they are somewhat inclined to keep this valuable new knowledge to themselves, just as the gold miner, who has struck a rich vein of yellow treasure, is inclined to be secretive about his good luck. The total literature of Efficiency would barely fill a five-foot shelf, and most of the books are special studies of one problem or one trade. Just as there was only one book in 1865 which gave a general explanation of the theory of evolution—Darwin's "Origin of Species," so there is to-day only one book which gives a general explanation of the Efficiency movement—Emerson's "Twelve Principles of Efficiency."

EFFICIENCY, AS A CONSCIOUS SCIENCE, IS NEW

Efficiency began—when? Only a few years ago, in its present form. In 1900 it had no name and the "Engineering Magazine" christened it "production engineering." Several years later, Emerson fixed upon the word "Efficiency" as being better fitted to describe the new ideas; and later still, Mr. Frederick W. Taylor chose the phrase "Scientific Management."

In its larger sense, of course, Efficiency is nothing less than the scientific spirit in its latest manifestation. Efficiency really began when some ancient Egyptian or Assyrian first applied geometry to the problems of our globe. It grew during the lifetime of such pioneers as Democritus of Abdera, who conceived of the universe as a mechanism twenty-two centuries ago. It was strengthened by Euclid and Archimedes and Copernicus and Kepler and Newton. It was applied to discovery by Magellan and Columbus, to chemistry by Boyle, to anatomy by Vesalius, to the study of nature by Darwin, to geology by Lyell, to militarism by Von Moltke, to the art of invention by Edison, and to the culture of fruits by Bursera of California.

Whoever first conceived of a wheel—that ingenious circular leg with a perpetual foot—helped along the international movement towards an efficient civilization. Whoever first made fire and cooking and clothes and flour and leather and houses—every one of these unknown pathfinders did his share in pushing the race upwards. Above all, perhaps, James Watt, who gave us the steam-engine as the chief prime mover of the world, created the Age of Machinery, and thus shifted the industrial nations from a basis of muscle to a basis of brain.

Since Watt, the builders of Efficiency have been too numerous to name. Under the stimulation of steam, men began to think faster. They began to invent, until in the last hundred years a million patents have been issued to American inventors. Whitney gave us cheap cotton; Howe gave us cheap clothing; McCormick gave us cheap wheat; Morse and Bell gave us cheap communication; Rockefeller gave us cheap oil; and Carnegie gave us cheap steel. All of these men, and hundreds of others, gave us the material foundation upon which we are now preparing to erect our structure of Efficiency.

APPLYING THE SCIENCE TO MAN HIMSELF

The next great step, in the progress of civilization, is to apply these victorious principles of Efficiency to MAN HIMSELF. The next factor to master is the HUMAN factor. We are now about to study men as well as machines. We are to develop the NEW WORKER, who is not to be a cog nor a wage-serf, but rather an Architect of Labor. We are to unite Labor and Capital and the Public by adopting methods that serve the interests of all; and by developing the personality of the worker as well as the productiveness of the plant.

So hope the prophets of Efficiency. Is it a dream? Who knows? So many dreams have come true in the last fifty years that we are no longer doubtful of dreams. Anyway, Business as well as Science may have its dreams. If a scientist may hope to create life some day out of carbon and water and ammonia and a few salts, why may not a manufacturer hope to eliminate waste and friction and ill-will, in the making and selling of his goods?

WHAT EFFICIENCY IS NOT

Efficiency is not a new name for an old truth, so far as it relates to industry and to

individual success. It is an absolutely new point of view in the business world.

It is not Expert Accounting, for the reason that accounting deals only with records and not with methods.

It is not Economy, for the reason that mere saving is often the most suicidal of all business policies.

It is not Energy, for the reason that misdirected energy is the most universal of all industrial wastes.

It is not Slave-driving, for the reason that one of its main benefits is to elevate and profit the wage-workers, not to degrade or oppress them.

And it is not System, for the reason that the most useless and wasteful actions can be done in the most systematic way. There can easily be too much system, but there can never be too much Efficiency.

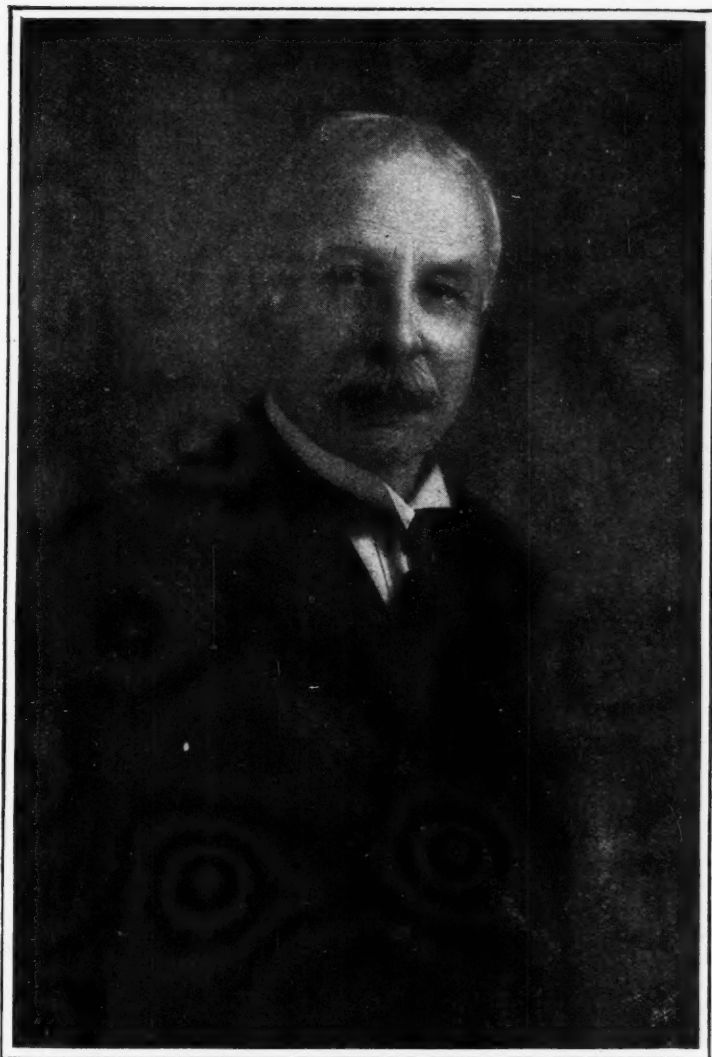
Efficiency means more *net*. This little word of three letters—N-E-T, has in recent years become the most important word in the vocabulary of business. *Net* means not how much money you took in, but how much you have left. If you take in three million dollars and pay out the same amount, you have no net at all. It is better to take in one dollar and have ten cents left, than to take in ten dollars and have only five cents left.

It is the NET that decides whether or not we are winning or losing, in the game of business. Gross receipts may pile up as high as a mountain, and yet at the end of the year there may be no residue of profit. It is not volume of business that makes net. Neither is it system nor energy nor resources. It is all these, PLUS EFFICIENCY.

Consequently, there is no other subject, just at the present crisis in our industrial evolution, that is attracting such keen interest as Efficiency. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent by railroads and other corporations to cut down the wastes and losses that arise from slipshod management. Cities and even states have employed experts to teach them the methods of Efficiency; and even the Federal Government has a President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency under the supervision of Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland.

EMERSON THE CENTRAL FIGURE

Emerson was not, of course, the inventor or discoverer of the Efficient Life. He was not a Columbus, enlarging the known world by bringing to view a new continent. He



HARRINGTON EMERSON

was one of a notable band of pioneers, numbering such men as Taylor, the steel-mill scientist; Duncan, the industrial chemist; Gilbreth, the master of the craft of brick-laying; and Going, the indefatigable editor of the Efficiency group.

But Emerson has been, from the first, much more than a pioneer. He is much more than a compiler of industrial data. He is at all times a guide over the whole field and not merely a local investigator. He appreciates the work of others with a generosity that is seldom found in pioneers. He has come to be generally regarded as the one man who can best represent his fel-

low experts, and who, therefore, can tell the story of Efficiency in the most helpful and comprehensive way.

For at least three very good reasons, Mr. Emerson may be regarded as the central figure of the new Efficiency Movement:

1. He was first to compel the attention of the nation to the subject of eliminating industrial waste.

2. He was the first to try out the principles of Efficiency by applying them to the greatest variety of industries and professions.

3. He has been the most tireless trainer of young men and counselor of experts, be-



SNAP-SHOT OF MR. EMERSON AT HIS DESK IN THE TERMINAL BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

ing the only member of the original Efficiency group who was fortunate enough to have had both an engineering and a pedagogic education.

"A MILLION DOLLARS A DAY WASTED"

It is now ten years or more since Emerson first announced the slogan that made Efficiency famous, "I can show the railroads how to save a million dollars a day." For years he went from one railroad president to another, and met with an almost unanimous series of refusals and rebuffs. One railroad, and only one, appreciated his revolutionary ideas. The Santa Fé Railroad engaged him for a term of three years, and the remarkable results which he produced during those three years are still pointed to as the high-water mark of railroad efficiency.

But not even the betterments which he established on the Santa Fé could influence the other railroads to adopt the new knowledge and the new methods of which Emerson was the advocate. Then came the important case of the Shippers *vs.* Railroads. Brandeis was the attorney for the Shippers. He knew little or nothing at that time of either Emerson or Efficiency, but he was quick enough to see that Emerson had a new point of view from which the Railroads could be attacked and defeated.

The Railroads were asking permission to raise their freight rates; while the Shippers maintained that the freight rates were already high enough. "Instead of raising freight rates," said Brandeis, "why not elim-

inate waste? Here is Harrington Emerson, the greatest of all efficiency engineers, and he maintains that the Railroads are wasting a million dollars a day."

Mr. Emerson was put on the stand, as were other experts of national reputation. They overwhelmed the Railroads with their facts and figures. They presented a new variety of data against which the amazed railroad experts had no defense. They convinced the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, won the case for the Shippers, and established Efficiency as one of the most powerful and practical factors in the

scheme of our national life.

SOME EFFICIENCY ACHIEVEMENTS

As to the improvements that Emerson has made in various plants, many of them are well known in the world of manufacturing. In one Pittsburgh plant, the yard gang was cut down from seventy to twenty-six by means of a dispatching-board. In the Topeka railroad shops, wages were increased 14 per cent., costs were reduced 36 per cent., and the output was moved up 57 per cent. A large forging shop in Kansas doubled its output with a decrease in the payroll of \$500 a month. A Canadian engine-plant made five locomotives a week, instead of three, without more men or more machinery.

Emerson has handled union and non-union shops alike, without any serious opposition from employees. "The workmen," he says, "give me less trouble than anything else." He has always maintained that no improvement can be made permanent unless it helps the men as well as the corporation. He meets the men fairly and respects their point of view until he cancels their spirit of suspicion and hostility. "When that man Emerson gets busy in a factory," said a Santa Fé foreman, "he changes the men from half-hearted loafers into active, honest, self-respecting men, who take an intense interest in their work."

EMERSON'S INDIFFERENCE TO PERSONAL PROFIT

As might be expected, Emerson has found his efficiency profitable. He has made mil-



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
(The noted legal advocate of efficiency)

WILLIAM R. WILLCOX
(President of the Efficiency Society)

Copyright by Harris & Ewing
DR. FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND
(Head of the President's Commission on Economy and Efficiency)

THREE NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE EFFICIENCY MOVEMENT

lions for others and several hundred thousands for himself. But he has often followed the line of least personal profit.

In the sorting of his morning's mail, the letter that pleases him most is the one that contains a new series of facts or figures bearing on the elimination of waste. The next most welcome letter is the one that asks an intelligent question on some matter of better methods in industry. And the third most interesting letter is the one that contains a check in payment of his services.

I remember very well the look of helpless protest upon the face of one of his business managers when Emerson arrived home from a trip to Cincinnati and announced delightedly that he had refused a big job in that city and had paid all his own expenses.

"It was worth thousands of dollars to me to see that factory," he explained. "It was 95 per cent. efficient. I never saw a better plant. So I just told the owner of it that I could do nothing for him, and that I was greatly indebted to him for both his efficiency and his courtesy."

On another occasion, when invited by the War Department to study the target practice of our warships, he went with the expectation of finding antiquated methods and the poorest results. To his surprise and delight, he found the most marvelous efficiency. He learned that an American battleship can fire

a salvo of twelve 12-inch shells in thirty seconds, while steaming at twenty-one knots an hour, hitting a target sixty feet wide and thirty feet high, eight miles away, with six shots out of twelve. One hit every five seconds at full speed! Emerson was fascinated. He at once forgot that he was the central authority on efficiency and became for the time a student.

A HIGH PRIEST OF EFFICIENCY

In the work of propaganda, he is as tireless as St. Paul. He is incessantly traveling from city to city, and from corporation to corporation, making speeches, preparing reports, warning, advising, investigating. As an orator he is not especially effective, because of his lack of humor; but there have been occasions when he has risen to the peaks of eloquence and truly rhetorical power.

One of Emerson's rarest gifts is the power of compelling his associates to think. No one can meet him, even for a half-hour's informal conversation, without being forced to investigate and reflect. No habit is safe from his scrutiny. He is incessantly asking "Why?" "What for?" "How much?" "How do you know?" He is as disturbing as Socrates was to those Athenians who took the opinions of their day at face value.

Once, when he and I were walking past a certain public library, I remarked:



A GROUP OF WORKERS UNDER THE EMERSON SYSTEM OF FACTORY MANAGEMENT

(Every man in the group is on bonus. For the week ending May 11, 1912, the average efficiency, with 91 per cent. of the work covered by standards, was 107 per cent. The initial efficiency of the group, one year previous, was approximately 40 per cent.)

"What a magnificent structure that is!" "Is it?" he retorted. "What is a library for? Why should it be made of marble? Why is it built like a storage warehouse or an armory, with its thick walls and narrow windows? An efficient library would be built of steel and glass, so as to give the greatest possible safety and the greatest possible light. As for this building, anyone can see it was designed mainly for the profit of the contractor and the glory of the architect." It may be true that with a half-hour of further study Emerson would have come to a different conclusion; but the incident shows how he will take nothing for granted, and how with him the first thought must be—Efficiency.

HIS YOUTH SPENT ABROAD

Emerson was born in New Jersey in 1853 and was educated in Europe. At the age of nineteen he entered the Royal Polytechnic at Munich, and became absorbed in mechanical engineering. Many of the professors there were men of great renown—Linde, Bauschinger, Beitz, Erlenmyer and others—but modern mechanical development had not yet really begun. There were no electric lights, no dynamos, no motors, no gas engines, no steam turbines, no acetylene, no telephones, no phonographs.

In 1873, Emerson read for the first time Darwin's "Origin of Species." This introduced him to the fascinating writings of Huxley and Tyndall. These writers opened up to him a new world of science and improvement, and he became at once one of the most zealous and active propagandists of the theory of evolution.

A COLLEGE PROFESSOR AT TWENTY-THREE

In 1876, after having spent the summer at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, Emerson received a call to the professorship of modern languages at the State University of Nebraska. This again was a new experience. He found himself in charge of a department in a rapidly growing university, in which there was as yet no system and no solidarity. Here he and several other young professors, with iconoclastic tendencies, went diligently to work, remodeled the university, and made it an efficient institution.

At the end of six years his salary as a university professor was \$1800. Emerson concluded that this was not enough. He left the university and became a dealer in real estate on the frontier. The first year he cleared \$5000, and presently found himself on the staff of the General Manager of the Burlington Railroad. For several years he was the general "trouble man" of the rail-

road. Every odd job fell to his lot, such as the selection of town sites, excursions of settlers, prospects of coal mines, crop failures, freight rates, and taxes.

SUCCESSFUL MAN OF AFFAIRS

After ten years of frontier and railroad life, he moved to the city of Denver. By this time he had become wealthy, and had a wide Western reputation as a successful man of large affairs. He became at this time a representative of an English syndicate which was seeking American industrial investments. This work obliged him to investigate from the inside many different mills and factories. He began for the first time to shape in his own mind the causes and remedies of failure. All told, he investigated more than 200 American plants, and in this way laid a broad basis for his doctrines of Efficiency.

In 1896 there came the news of gold discoveries in Alaska. Fascinated with the risk and the possibilities of great wealth, Emerson at once went to the Yukon. He opened and financed the longest star route in America—2700 miles from Juneau to St. Michaels. He learned to drive dog sleds, and to travel forty miles a day trotting behind the sled. He came into contact with pioneer conditions at their worst, and learned in several cases how they could be overcome.

FIRST TRIUMPH IN EFFICIENCY ENGINEERING

The first factory which came under his influence as an efficiency engineer was that of the Appert Glass Company. This was a simple, one-product plant, which had grappled with the new problem of making wire glass. Emerson was made practically the dictator of this factory, and had, for the first time, full swing in the application of his new principles. The results were electrical. At the end of the first half-year, a monthly loss of \$3000 was converted into a monthly profit of \$10,000.

This success decided the trend of his career. He was amazed to find out how great were the wastes and the losses, and how easily and quickly they could be overcome. Here, in a few months, he had achieved the impossible. He had raised both profits and wages and lowered both costs and selling price.

From here, after several years of miscellaneous work in small factories, Emerson went to the help of the Santa Fé Railroad. The work which he did here is, perhaps, his best and most enduring monument. In the carrying out of the betterments on the Santa



A 110 PER CENT. MAN

Fé, Emerson had to deal with 12,000 employees, who were busy in twelve Southwestern States. He built up a corps of thirty assistants, many of whom are now recognized as the most skilled specialists in their various lines.

The story of the Santa Fé improvements has often been told, and no more need be said here than that it is now nationally recognized that the Santa Fé Railroad has become a model for all students of railroading and efficiency. Right at the outset, after a very few months of work, Emerson showed how to eliminate annual wastes and losses to the extent of \$1,500,000.

At the conclusion of his Santa Fé contract, Mr. Emerson opened a consulting office in New York City, so that he would be able to



MAKING TIME STUDIES WITH A MOVING-PICTURE MACHINE

handle a number of corporations at the same time. He has since worked in over 100 different plants, many of them the largest of their kind in the world. His staff of assistants varies from thirty to fifty, and his company is practically a great training school or university of Efficiency.

He is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Ingénieurs Civil de France, Efficiency Society, American Railway Master Mechanics' Association, American Economic Association, American Foundrymen's Association, several other technical societies, the Boston City Club, and the Railroad, Engineers', and Aero clubs, of New York.

A PIONEER AND DISCOVERER

Harrington Emerson is by nature a pioneer. He is more in love with the future than the present. He is concerned with the battle of life, but not at all with the victories and the rewards. He is still a lonely figure in the midst of a multitude that throngs about him to do him honor.

What he planned for has come to pass. What he preached in the desert of indifference is now being shouted from the housetops. The word Efficiency has become a national slogan. Corporations are vowing allegiance to it, in their annual reports. Politicians are using it to persuade voters. Advertisers are using it to sell goods. Preachers are using it to obtain congregations.

Yet Emerson all the while is absorbed in a new series of experiments. Just as Daniel Boone was wont to move farther back into the forest, when he saw the smoke of other

men's camps, so Emerson has dropped those phases of efficiency which have become generally understood, and has delved into further researches concerning which the public has little or no knowledge.

THE PERSONAL SIDE OF EFFICIENCY

If I may, with a word or two, indicate Mr. Emerson's present line of investigation, I would describe it as a swing from methods to men. Instead of applying machinery to raw material, he is rather trying to introduce PERSONALITY into the whole task of production. His new word is APTITUDE. His new thought is that the most important of all machines is man himself. The man and the job must fit. There must be the right man for the work, as well as the right tool and the right raw material. He is still bent upon the elimination of waste, but to-day it is not so much the waste of power or machinery or materials; it is the waste of MISPLACED MEN.

Just as a long-legged man makes a good apple-picker but a poor shoveler, so there are differences of temperament, differences of education, differences of mentality, which make or mar a man as a producer of wealth. How to ascertain and chart the variables in men, how to pick exactly the men for each species of labor—such are the problems that are at the present time absorbing his nights and days.

HOW AN EFFICIENCY ENGINEER GOES TO WORK

Many people ask, "What does Emerson actually do, to earn his unusual fees? How does he work his industrial miracles? What is the process by which he increases the effi-

ciency of a great manufacturing plant?"

To answer such questions is not easy. What was learned in a lifetime cannot be told in a moment. But usually, when Emerson pays his first visit to a factory, his plan is to go swiftly through the whole plant, so as to get a general view of its condition. He probes here, there, and everywhere to dig up the basic facts. He takes nothing for granted. He asks, "Is this factory in the right location? How far is it from its raw materials? How far from its market?" He inquires about the plan of the building. Was it designed for its own purpose, or did it grow up in a haphazard way? How is the

raw material unloaded? How is it inspected? Is it stored properly? What is its path through the factory? Are the machines placed in proper sequence? Who is in charge of the tools? Is there any one workman who is a specialist on belts? How are the records taken? Who maintains discipline? What inducements are offered for better work? If a mechanic does his stunt in half the time, what does he get as a reward? What is the percentage of breakage? Does every machine pay a net profit? How much actual working time is obtained from each machine? How many laborers are allowed in a gang? Who fits the men to the jobs?

Such are Emerson's test-questions. By the manner in which they are received, and the

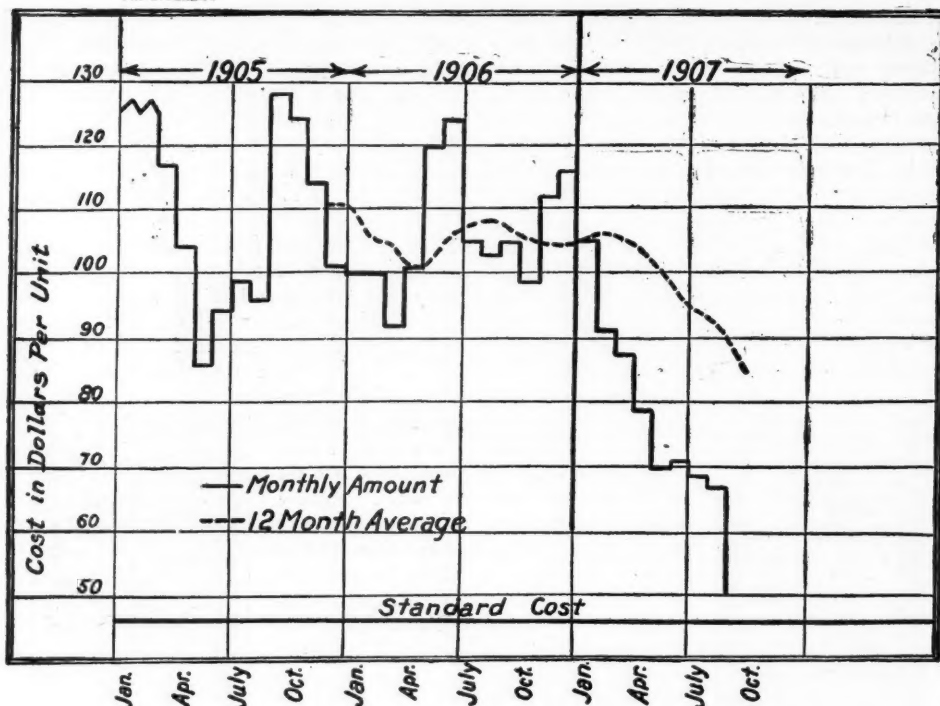
readiness with which they are answered, much can be discovered. Meanwhile, Emerson is keenly watching to catch the general spirit of the factory. He notices the faces of the men. Are they sullen or cheerful? Are they soggy or alert? Are they pushing ahead or hanging back? How many are standing idle? How many are walking about?

In all, there are four factors that he investigates,—men, machinery, methods, and materials. At the end of the survey, he decides which department of the factory is in worst condition. Here he begins. Certain definite changes are made at once. The

causes of the trouble are removed. Then three or four young men are set to work making "time studies" in this department. These "time studies" are highly important. They are exact records, made by the stop-watch, of the time taken to perform each piece of work. Every job is thus split up into its various parts and analyzed. After days, perhaps weeks, of study, it is learned that a 58-minute job can be done in 33 minutes—a two-hour job in 92 minutes—a four-day job in three days. It is at this point that the skill of the expert is needed, to decide justly and wisely the amount of time that ought to be allowed. Then, following this task of job-building, comes the second of wage-building, and so on from one task to another, until a satisfactory condi-



MOVING-PICTURE FILMS THAT SHOW ACTUAL MOVEMENTS OF WORKMEN



Under ordinary management.

Under Emerson efficiency methods.

CHART SHOWING REDUCTION OF MANUFACTURING COSTS BY APPLYING PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY

tion has been reached. The problem has higher dividends, then and not before may not been solved, in the opinion of an efficiency expert, until there is harmony and a company consider itself as traveling on the straight road of efficiency.

and get paid more, with less effort, and HIS LIFE A CHALLENGE TO INEFFICIENCY

when the corporation has lower costs and Emerson is very similar to Darwin in his naïve indifference to opposition. He is not

MONTH OF SERVICE	NUMBER OF MEN ON SCHEDULE	TOTAL NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED.	% OF HOURS WORKED ON SCHEDULES.	STANDARD HOURS ON SCHEDULES.	ACTUAL HOURS ON SCHEDULES.	% AVERAGE EFFICIENCY ATTAINED
1 ST	21	5,250	68.9	2,011.2	3,613.9	55.6
2 ND	50	12,500	59.4	4,350.2	7,418.8	58.6
3 RD	77	19,250	66.2	7,649.6	12,748.3	60.
7 TH	251	62,750	66.	37,051.8	41,463.0	89.5
12 TH	656	164,000	77.2	122,736.4	126,534.4	97.
13 TH	731	182,750	66.	120,357.5	120,478.0	99.9
14 TH	771	192,750	76.	148,841.0	146,434.0	101.7

LABOR EFFICIENCIES IN THE TOPEKA REPAIR SHOPS

(The twenty-one men with whom the start was made were the best men in the shops. The others were not as high in efficiency. The net result was the raising of the efficiency of 771 men as to 76 per cent. of their time from 55.6 per cent to 101.7 per cent. The average number of hours per month per man is 250, and 76 per cent. of this is 190 hours. The standard schedules of 771 men for 190 hours each are 146,434 hours, costing the company for wages and overhead charges 90 cents an hour, or a total of \$131,790. At 55.6 per cent. efficiency, the hours required are 373,553, at an average cost of 85 cents, making a total of \$317,520. Thus the reduction in labor cost brought about by increasing the efficiency amounted to \$185,730.)

at all combative, in the sense that he craves fighting for fighting's sake. Yet he finds himself in a perpetual contest. His habitual mood is one of challenge. No matter whether the object of his wrath is a corporation, or a profession, or a race-habit, he flings down his gauntlet and declares war upon it, if it is caught in the act of inefficiency.

He is as unmoved to-day by fame as he was in 1908 by neglect. Neither the temptations that come with adulation nor the discouragements that spring from hostility have any marked effect upon him. One by one his young men leave him, caught by the lure of higher pay and quicker promotion. Competitors of all varieties, from competent co-workers all the way down to shallow and worthless pretenders, have sprung up around Emerson; but none of these things move him. He is wholly absorbed in his own studies and investigations.

Such is his marvelous energy that he has already lived several lifetimes. He is always working. You can find him at his office in the Hudson Terminal Building invariably at 8 o'clock—an hour ahead of his stenographer. Probably no other man of our time has ever seen and done as great a variety of things, and certainly no other man of our time has done as much to instruct and to inspire the workers of the business world.

THE GLORIOUS FUTURE OF THE EFFICIENCY IDEAL

Emerson believes that the big fortunes of the future will be made by the men who know how to prevent waste. Philip D. Armour, the Chicago packer, had the same belief. "We shall see larger fortunes made," said Armour, "out of the things that are now thrown away." There is not only the waste of the railroads, which Emerson places at a million dollars a day, or 20 per cent. of the total expenditure. Besides this, there is the waste of the Federal Government, which Senator Aldrich has declared to be three hundred millions a year. There is the *horse* waste, which the motor-truck and tractor experts declare to be several hundreds of millions more. And there is the stupendous *fire* waste, which has cost us in the last fifteen years two billions of dollars and twenty thousand lives.

The fact is that the United States has grown to be so big that the making or losing of a million dollars has become a small matter. If every manufacturing plant, for instance, were to save four dollars a day, the

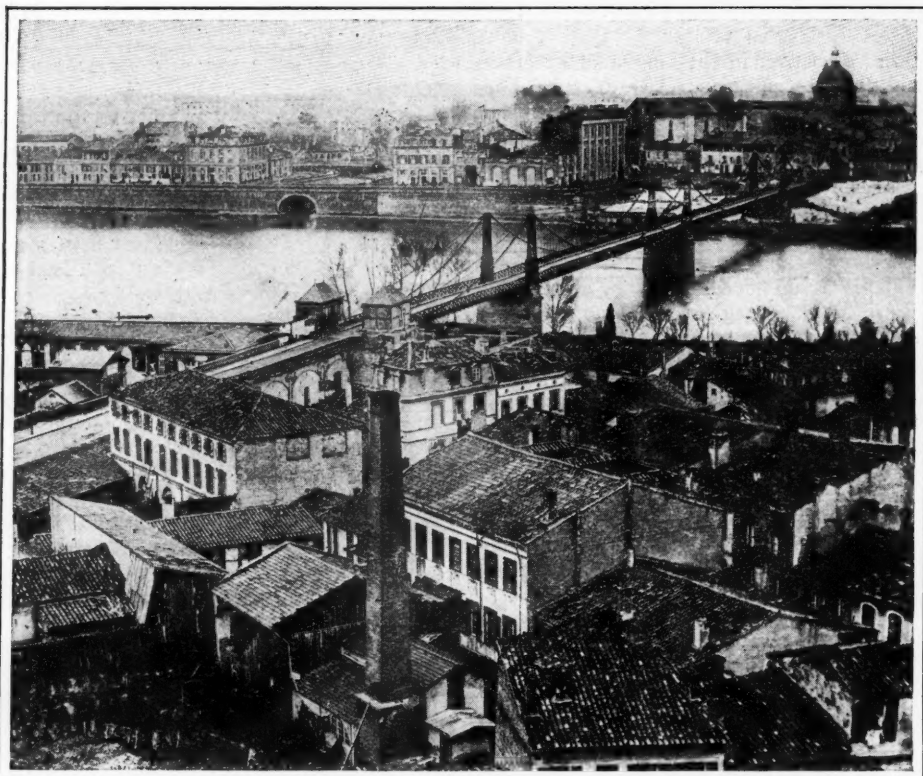


HARRINGTON EMERSON, AS AN ALASKAN PIONEER

total daily saving would be a million. Fifteen cents daily from every factory worker, or ten cents daily from every farmer, or *one cent* daily per capita, would produce a million dollars a day.

Even such estimates as these are the merest trifling, compared with the problem of waste from a national point of view. According to the Emersonian data, the labor of the United States is only 70 per cent. efficient and the capital is only 30 per cent. If this be true, then our labor army of twenty million workers dwindles to fourteen millions; and our railroad and manufacturing capital of thirty billions dwindles to nine billions. Complete efficiency would add to the nation a total of six million workers and twenty-one billions of capital. Such is the golden dream of the experts of Efficiency.

What steam did for transportation, say these experts, Efficiency will do in the elimination of waste and risk and drudgery. Just as there is no comparison between the digging that is done in Korea, where nine men operate one spade, and the digging that is done in the Mesaba Iron Range, where three men operate a steam shovel that digs five tons of ore every three minutes; so there can be no comparison between a nation of haphazard and a nation of forethought and scientific precision.



PART OF THE CITY OF TOULOUSE (SEE PAGE 318)

FRANCE A CENTRALIZED STATE

BY JESSE MACY

[The present article is the fourth, and last, in Professor Macy's series of articles appearing in this magazine on present phases of European democracy. The previous articles appeared in the February, May and June issues of the REVIEW, and contained much practical information upon popular advancement in politics in the countries of Western Europe. The article in the June number was upon the Swiss as teachers of democracy, and the present one, upon French centralization, marks a strong contrast. Professor Macy has been lecturing in the provincial French universities located at the important cities of Lille, Poitiers, Bordeaux and Toulouse, under the scheme of exchange professorships. He has been explaining to citizens of French departments the differences between a federated republic like ours and an almost completely centralized state like France. This lifelong citizen of Iowa, lecturing on American politics in the English language in provincial capitals of France, affords a new and valuable indication of what may be accomplished through such an arrangement as the professional exchange.—THE EDITOR.]

I HAVE been for six weeks in the provinces of France searching for the springs of political life among the local institutions of the people. I had expected to find traces of local autonomy strong enough to serve as a counterpoise to the all-powerful central government; but in this I have been disappointed.

Of course I had heard and read that the French have no local government; that Paris is France, and that the French people prefer to be governed by one central authority. But

I had read also that a system of logically arranged local areas existed, under the name of departments, which are subdivided into arrondissements, and these again into cantons, while the entire country is divided into communes; that in these local areas there are elected councils, or bodies of magistrates, having a variety of duties and functions; and that in the not distant past there have been serious uprisings of the communes.

Somewhere among these local institutions

I fully expected to find the beginnings of local autonomy, such as are now much in evidence in England. Thus far I have found nothing of the sort. Speaking simply from present impressions, centralized authority seems more real and pervasive than I had been led to believe it to be. Six weeks, however, is too short a time for attaining assured convictions upon so intricate a subject. All that I have to report is present and, perchance, temporary impressions.

I have many times met with clues that furnished *prima facie* evidence of a decentralizing tendency. It is said, for instance, that the Orleanists seek to gain favor with the people by an effort to revive the older and larger provinces in place of the Napoleonic Departments. I had an evening with the Marquis de Roux, of Poitiers, a leading Orleanist, and found that he attached no great importance to that part of their propaganda. I plied him with questions concerning the new idea of democratic monarchy, such as is described in my article in the February number of this REVIEW. But the Marquis was very explicit in his repudiation of the Norwegian and English types of monarchy. France, in his opinion, needs a sovereign with a large measure of independent administrative power.

WHAT THE ORLEANISTS WANT

The Orleanists would maintain universal suffrage; they would have a legislature to make the laws; but they would have a king to execute them. A limited constitutional monarchy is their ideal of government. They would separate legislation from administration; and would have the monarch limited though not controlled by the legislature. They would repudiate cabinet government and, likewise, that form of monarchy which, as in Norway, makes the king a figurehead. The reactionary nature of the Orleanist program, coupled with the fact that almost the entire support of the party comes from a centralizing church and a centralizing army, leaves scant ground for belief that local autonomous government will receive any effective support from such a source.

NATIONALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALISTS

The Socialist political party is locally organized and the local organizations take an active part in city elections. To American eyes it might appear that such a party, exerting as it does an immense influence throughout the nation, would incidentally make ma-

terial contributions to the strengthening of the ties of local neighborhood life. The fact appears to be otherwise.

The Socialist party is a great nationalizing institution, and the participation of the Socialists in local affairs is entirely subordinate to their chief aim, which is to gain control of the state. They would be the last to engage in a decentralizing, divisive propaganda. Their leaders emphatically repudiate any such intention. Regarding themselves as victims of a persecuting centralized government, the Socialists make the control of that government their direct aim. They oppose the referendum, because it was by a *plebiscite* that Napoleon III made himself master of France, and to them the modern referendum appears a divisive issue. They seek as a leading purpose to build up an organization national in character, military in discipline, and, in the end, strong enough to dominate and administer the affairs of the state.

The masses of the French people are apparently deficient in ability for constructive organization. Labor unions in France have been weak and inefficient. In England and the United States their influence has been conservative; they have resisted and retarded the more radical programs of the Socialists. The situation in France is strikingly different. Here the Socialists, being more thoroughly organized, appear as a conservative factor, while the ineffectively organized labor unions degenerate into a policy of sabotage, syndicalism, direct and destructive warfare against the capitalists. So it is the Socialists who act as a conservative force to oppose the anarchical and subversive tendencies of the syndicalists.

THE DREAD OF MOB RULE

The ever-present fear of the French mob goes far towards explaining the extreme centralization in government. The need of an irresistible power for maintaining order is deeply felt. There may be conflict of authority between the mayor of a city and the prefect, who represents the central government, and sometimes when the mayor has strong local support his will may be permitted to prevail against that of the prefect. But if the case is serious, threatening an uprising of the mob, all thought of local authority vanishes and the appeal is to the strong arm.

There appears to be no standing ground for a political party or for any group of voters who would openly contend for local autonomy or decentralization in authority. The

fear that the monarchists, supported by the priests and a portion of the army, may stir up the French mob and effect a revolution is yet very real. To the republicans the monarchists are treasonable revolutionists; while to the monarchists the republicans are the revolutionists; and there appears no disposition to commit this issue to calm, deliberate debate, and rely upon the unforced choice of the people for the decision of the question. The controlling dread of violence makes therefore for centralization of power.

THE WAR SPECTER

Then there is the ever-present dread of a European war, the deeply felt necessity of maintaining an army adequate for protection against possible invasion by German forces. The increase of the French army is stoutly resisted by the Socialists, and there is a growing disposition on the part of the masses of the French people to unite with the Socialists of Germany in a common resistance to the increase of military burdens. But thus far this is not strong enough to prevail against the overmastering fear that plays into the hands of the strong government.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

I have, however, been often reminded of the fact that the French are not a homogeneous people; that there is indeed a much greater diversity among them than is indicated by the unified, centralized government to which all sections of the country readily submit. There are ancient lines of well-marked social distinctions reaching back to feudal and even to Roman times.

Southern France, for instance, was much more thoroughly Romanized during the later centuries of the empire than was the north of France, and to the present day the people of the South maintain social customs which we naturally associate with Italy or Spain.

MUSIC CULTURE IN TOULOUSE

Toulouse is a typical Southern-French city. Like the Italians, the inhabitants are distinguished for their appreciation of art. They live the outdoor life and they delight especially in the art of music. The opera is an endowed institution and is supported by the city. Admission is not entirely free, but the required fees are so small that none need be excluded. The opening of the opera season is a great event in the life of the city. New aspirants for musical position and honor al-

ways appear, and the audiences sit in judgment upon their qualifications. The listeners are the judges of the music, and unless the candidates for artistic recognition meet their requirements they are rejected: the people refuse to hear them. Only those persevering ones who finally succeed in passing the rigid popular examinations are admitted to the profession. This is an old institution, dating back to a time "when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." So there was democracy in art earlier than the dream of democracy in government.

A LEISURELY OLD AGE

Conversation is also a fine art. The people delight to sit in the open air, sipping their wine and talking with their neighbors. It is not good form in Southern France to be in a hurry. Strenuous hard labor is to be avoided or justified only by special or temporary reasons. I am told that a large proportion of the population of Toulouse is made up of families who in early life worked hard for a few years, in order that for their remaining years they might be rid of the annoyance of labor. A man would set his mark at the accumulation of six thousand dollars—or ten thousand, according to his ambition or his ideals of comfort. Until this goal was reached he would put forth almost abnormal energy. But when that fortune was made, when, according to American standards, the point was reached at which the accumulation of riches should become more rapid, the business would be closed out or allowed to pass to other hands. The modest little competence was applied to the purpose for which it was sought. It enabled its possessor to abandon effort. Establishing himself upon a small holding in the suburbs, near enough to his beloved city to remain a part of its life, he follows a simple, dignified existence, with no thought of ever adding to his possessions.

Such persons may be seen by the hundred sitting in the city parks, merely living and letting other people live.

THE BULL-FIGHT IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

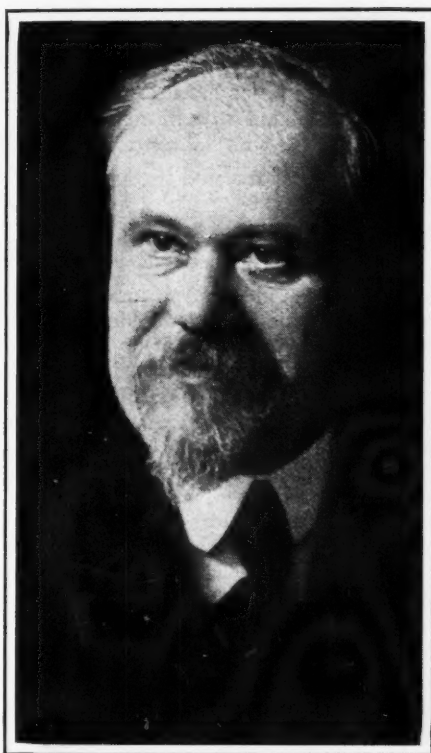
These Southern French are remarkably free from vice and crime. Murder for jealousy or the greed of money is almost unknown. Drunkenness is of rare occurrence. Animals are treated with kindness and consideration. Nevertheless, it is in Southwestern France that the bull-fight survives among the established and honored institutions, in seeming contradiction to the assertion just made.

That there is no real contradiction I am assured by those who know well both the people and the ancient sport. Cruelty is not a feature of the amusement. The animal forming the central figure is throughout his entire life the object of unusual care and consideration. His breeding is the business of a gentleman, and apparently his sole reason for existence is to furnish entertainment to the admiring crowds. If the sport should be abolished the brute would go the way of the American buffalo.

Though he comes to the closing event of his career in a spectacular manner, upon a bloody field and before an applauding multitude, his previous life has been passed under close attention and under expert training at the hands of a gentleman, and his life is precious in his owner's eyes. When the final event is staged, the name of the gentleman trainer is given as a guaranty of the fighting qualities of the animal. Before that day there has been many a bout between master and brute. In these combats the bull always survives. Occasionally the master does not survive. The name of a nobleman in Toulouse was mentioned to me as that of one who had succumbed in a training match with one of his bulls. In such cases there is never any question of foul play or unfair dealing, as is common in the most brutal of our American sports. Bull and man are both giving expression to one side of their natures and the slain falls in a fair fight.

That there is a female variation of this sport was to me a new discovery. The cows likewise combat for public entertainment, and it appears that they are even "more deadly than the male." They are real "suffragettes" for the violence and the uncertainty of their attacks, insomuch that they must needs be restrained by invisible cords in the hands of a man with a fine combination of nerve, muscle and judgment. An American who so far forgot himself as to patronize one of these cow fights testifies that the holder of the restraining cord failed in some one of the requirements, and the cow impaled her opponent with fatal results. An occasional occurrence of this sort no doubt adds piquancy to the sport; yet I am informed that, as compared with the modern game of American football the fatalities of the Spanish bull-fight are ridiculously few.

Oddly enough it is the bull-fight in Southern France which, more nearly than anything else that I have found, furnishes illustration of an institutional, local limitation upon the centralized authority of the Government.



A RECENT PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT POINCARÉ
OF FRANCE

The sport has long been forbidden by law, and throughout the country in general the law is strictly enforced. But within the limited section where the bull-fight survives it is evaded. Those responsible for a game that has taken place go before a magistrate, are convicted of a violation of law, pay a few francs as a fine and the Government is quiescent. Yet when a fight is arranged to be held outside the recognized geographical limits, the central authority orders out the troops and prevents the game.

It is altogether probable that as the Republic becomes more securely established and the people are relieved from the nightmare of bloody revolution and the dread of invading armies other local institutions may regain their long-lost power.

THE ENGLISH SENSE OF LOCAL SELF- GOVERNMENT

England has, like France, been classified as one of the unified, centralized States. In theory all power resides in the British Parliament. But England has had its Wales with its intense spirit of nationality, its Scotland

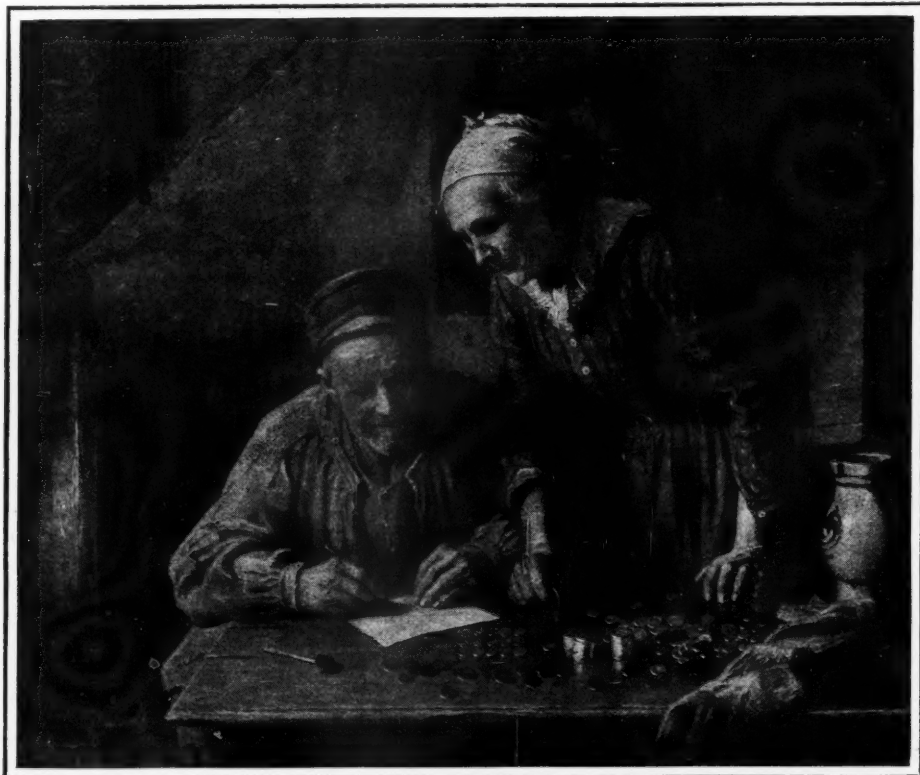
with its separate system of jurisprudence, a distinct educational system, a belligerent and resistant church; and especially has England had its Ireland, which has for eight centuries maintained incessant warfare against the authority of the British Government. These national and sectional factors have effectively resisted such thorough unification in the state as prevails in France.

Even in England taken alone a marked difference appears. Like France, England did lose much of the independent local autonomy of its municipalities. Power did become much centralized in a Cabinet and House of Commons. But there always survived at least the memory of local autonomy and some of its forms; so that, when Parliament at last called into existence local municipal councils suited to modern democratic tendencies, there immediately arose a series of independent experiments in the government of cities, poor-law unions, school districts and counties. A sense of local, neighborhood life had persisted among the English, strong enough to assume institutional form and to react upon, and in

many respects to control and guide the central government.

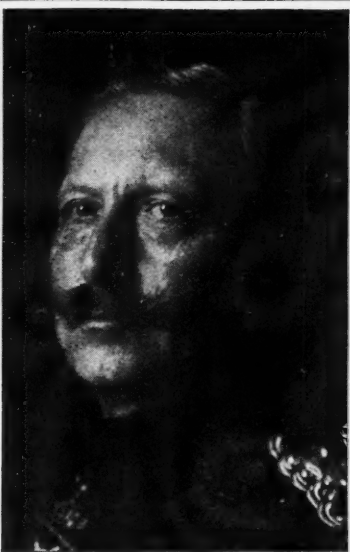
FRENCH DEMOCRACY — CENTRALIZED, NOT LOCAL

The French have apparently lost this local sense. They have their local councils, popularly chosen; but these are lacking in power to control effectively the central authority. So complete and so long existent has been the unification of government that local autonomy has the appearance of anarchy. The locally elected councils may cooperate with and assist the Government; they may even criticize it; but they must not set up an opposing authority. France is moving towards democracy, as are all the states of Europe, but it is a centralized democracy. By the use of the modern agencies for rapid communication a great state is becoming, as it were, an enlarged town-meeting, always in session, always engaged in the process of taking the sense of the people, discovering the general will, and choosing officers with full power to execute that will in every part of the state.



Copyright by Ridgway Knight.

"FRENCH THRIFT," THE SALON PAINTING BY THE AMERICAN ARTIST RIDGWAY KNIGHT



THE CROWN PRINCE

THE KAISER

PRINCE HENRY

THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND HIS ROYAL CO-WORKERS, BROTHER AND SON

THE MEN AROUND THE KAISER

IN one of the eulogies upon the pacific achievements of Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany upon the occasion of the silver jubilee, in June, which commemorated the twenty-five years the Kaiser has spent in bringing his empire to the pinnacle of national greatness, the Emperor was referred to as the "Managing Director of Germany, Ltd." The world has been fascinated by his picturesque and kaleidoscopic personality, and there has been a tendency to regard him almost exclusively as the author of the phenomenal advance of the Fatherland. Germany's development, however, has not been a one-man show. Although their identities and personalities, with only very rare exceptions, are unknown abroad, there have been many makers of modern Germany. In a vividly-told series of sketches under the general title "The Men Around the Kaiser,"¹ Frederic William Wile, for many years Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* and the *London Daily Mail*, sketches the characters and careers of thirty-two of these latter-day Teutonic Knights.

Among the statesmen and ex-statesmen who have directed the national administration in the Fatherland, Mr. Wile gives prominent places to Grand-Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, Secretary of State for the Im-

perial Navy since 1898, "the real creator of the Kaiser's fleet," and a possible future Chancellor; Dr. Theobald von Pethmann-Hollweg, Imperial Chancellor, philosopher, and "obedient servant of his imperial master"; Prince Bernhard von Buelow, fourth Chancellor, the polished diplomat who "had it pounded into him that while Germany has a parliament, she has no parliamentary government"; Foreign Secretary Herr Gottlieb von Jagow, smooth diplomat, experienced administrator, noted for urbanity, industry, and loyalty; von Jagow's predecessor, the blustering, strenuous von Kiderlen-Waechter, who, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, failed to coerce France in the Morocco matter; Dr. Count Arthur von Posadowsky-Wehner, M. P. for "Bielefeld of Westphalia," Germany's foremost social reformer, father of German social legislation and personification of the Teutonic aristocrat-democrat; Prince Karl Maximilian Lichnowsky, German Ambassador at London, who is said to understand England and the English better than any other living German; the late Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, often called the most eminent diplomat of German history, who built up German power at Constantinople, and died last year while representing his country at London; Count Johann von Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington, who "represents the highest

¹ *The Men Around the Kaiser*. By Frederick W. Wile. Lippincott 279 pp., ill. \$1.75



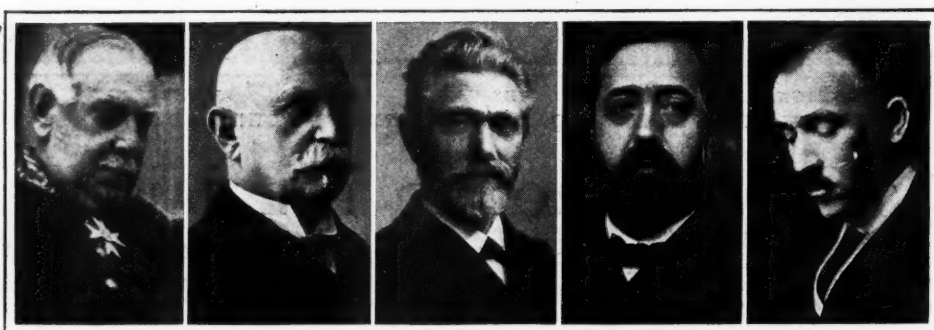
KOESTER
Head of the Navy
League

KIDERLEN-
WAECHTER
Ex-Foreign Minister

BUELOW
Diplomat and
Former Chancellor

BETHMANN-
HOLLWEG
Imperial Chancellor

TIRPITZ
Secretary of the
Navy



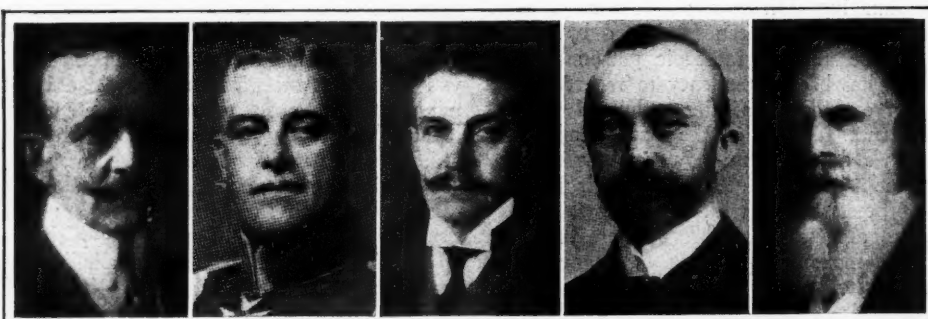
BIEBERSTEIN
Statesman and
Diplomat

ZEPPELIN
"Conqueror of the
Air"

BEBEL
Leader of the Social
Democrats

DERNBURG
Ex-Colonial
Minister

JAGOW
Minister of Foreign
Affairs



BERNSTORFF
Ambassador to the
United States

FÜRSTENBERG
"Power Behind the
German Throne"

LICHNOWSKY
Ambassador to Great
Britain

HEYDEBRAND
Leader of the
Agrarians

POSADOWSKY
Germany's Foremost
Social Reformer

SOME OF GERMANY'S STATESMEN, DIPLOMATS AND EMPIRE BUILDERS

type of modern German diplomat," who was born in London and "speaks English better than many Americans," and whose ideal is "unity and friendship between Germany, England and the United States"; Professor Hans Delbrück, who occupies the chair of history at the University of Berlin, edits the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, and is one of the most "fervid apostles of greater Germany"; Admiral Hans Ludwig von Koester, President of the celebrated Navy League, a veteran seaman, and one of the builders of the navy of the Fatherland; Bernhard Dernburg, the first successful Colonial Minister,



RATHENAU
Head of the German
"General Electric"

THYSSSEN
The German
Carnegie

SCHERL
Newspaper
Magnate

DELBRÜCK
"Apostle of Greater
Germany"

VON DER GOLTZ
Supreme Trainer of
Armies



REINHARDT
King of the German
Stage

HARDEN
Editor of the
Zukunft

STRAUSS
Composer and
Conductor

HAUPTMANN
Author, Dramatist,
Thinker

LIEBERMANN
Revolutionary
Painter



GWINNER
Director of the
Deutsche Bank

COUNT AND BERTHA KRUPP VON BOHLEN
Heads of the Krupp Gun Works

BALLIN
Head of the Ham-
burg-American Line

EHRlich
Developer of Pre-
ventive Medicine

GERMANS EMINENT IN ART, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND COMMERCE

banker, and general commercial expert; and Field Marshal General Baron von der Goltz, Inspector General of the Army, most famous organizer of the German military forces and those of other countries, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, writer on military topics, and probable field commander of the German armies in case of war.

But there are many others besides statesmen, soldiers, and administrators who have helped to make Germany great. "The Greatest German of the Twentieth Century" is the title that the Kaiser himself has conferred upon Count von Zeppelin, the septuagenarian inventor of the dirigible balloon; Albert Ballin, Director-General of the

Hamburg-American lines, whom the Kaiser has called "the most far-seeing and tireless pioneer of German commerce and export trade"; Arthur von Gwinner, senior director of the *Deutsche Bank*, the "premier financier of the realm," one of the "biggest captains of German industry"; Emil Rathenau, head of "A. E. G." (*Allgemeine Electricitäts Gesellschaft*—General Electric Company), "with interests and influence that comprehend the globe," in its own country "almost as much of an institution as the army and without which Germany would not be what she is"; August Bebel, head of the Social-Democratic party in the Reichstag, a born tactician, and general of the "finest drilled army in the world," the German Social Democracy, "who would be, if Germany had a real parliament instead of a mere debating society, the leader of the Kaiser's Loyal Opposition"; Dr. Ernst von Heydebrand, chief of the agrarian party,—the Prussian Junkers,—"the uncrowned King of Prussia," leader of a conservative minority of agriculturists, who, despite all opposition, run the government; August Scherl, founder and proprietor of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, the most enterprising and sensational of the German dailies, the creator of the modern German press; August Thyssen, the Captain General of the German steel industry, who has made the Fatherland lead Europe in the production of steel, one of the pioneers of "Americanism" on the continent of Europe, and who has come to be known as the German Carnegie; Dr. Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach and his wife, who was born Bertha Krupp, daughter of the great gun magnate, and who is known as the Cannon Queen.

Among the artists, stage masters, and writers whose work has contributed to make the Fatherland great in these days, Mr. Wile sketches the careers of Max Reinhardt, who dominates the German stage and makes it respected abroad; Richard Strauss, the supreme composer, and "the peerless orchestral leader of the continent"; Max Liebermann, the revolutionary painter, the most eminent of his craft now living; Maximilian Harden, versatile, brilliant, pungent editor of the *Zukunft*, "the megaphone through which discontented Germany roars every week"; Ger-

hart Hauptmann, "the creator of an era in German literature," author, playwright, philosopher, and winner of the Nobel prize.

German science is represented in this appreciative volume by a sketch of Dr. Paul Ehrlich, great discoverer in the field of preventive medicine, type of the patient German professorial intellect, the first Jew to "receive the coveted German title of 'Exzellenz.'"

Finally, there are the royal co-workers with the Kaiser: his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, sailor Prince, Inspector-General of the German navy, ranking officer, and trainer of the Hohenzollern battle fleet; Friedrich Wilhelm, Crown Prince, idol of the German army, "who is destined to inaugurate an era of national repose as compared to the restless atmosphere which surrounds the present Kaiser." What sort of a Kaiser will Friedrich Wilhelm make? In a moment of reverie during the chase in India—so records Mr. Wile—the Crown Prince peered ahead to the time when he will rule. He records his soliloquy in "My Hunting Diary":

I believe in the dictum of my sainted ancestor, Frederick the Great, and agree with him that people should be allowed to pursue happiness and salvation, each in his own sweet way.

The Fatherland's destinies, concludes the writer of this book, ought to be safe in the keeping of a Supreme War Lord of such ideals. Then there is His Serene Highness, Prince Maximilian Egon zu Fürstenberg, the German-Austrian grand seigneur, and multimillionaire, the power behind the German throne, "the Kaiser's boon companion, the partner of his joys and comrade of his sorrows."

These are the chief names of the personalities who have helped the Kaiser to bring Germany to the front rank in the world's peaceful arts of commerce and trade, and to maintain her lead as the first military power while she challenges Great Britain for the mastery of the ocean.

The Kaiser, Prince Henry, and the Crown Prince have been so much pleased with this book, "The Men Around the Kaiser," that they have accepted copies from the author and sent him personal notes of acknowledgment.





ALTAR SCENE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED," BY SIDNEY M. HIRSCH

(Given at Nashville, Tenn., May 5-9; financed by the business men of the city; about 800 people participated)

THE PAGEANT-DRAMA REVIVED

BY SIDNEY M. HIRSCH

FROM an early antiquity it has been the custom and practice of the priestly and philosophical authorities to employ pageantry and spectacle in presenting and impressing upon the minds of the people religious, traditional or historical truths and occurrences. The term *impressing* is used here in order to emphasize the fact that the sages of an ancient time realized that an object observed by the eye made a more lasting impression than a narration about the same subject. So we find in the religious mysteries of early Egypt pageantry representing the planes of epochs (through the employment of symbols) that mortals must ascend through in becoming a *man*; or as it would be phrased to-day, "the journey of man to superman."

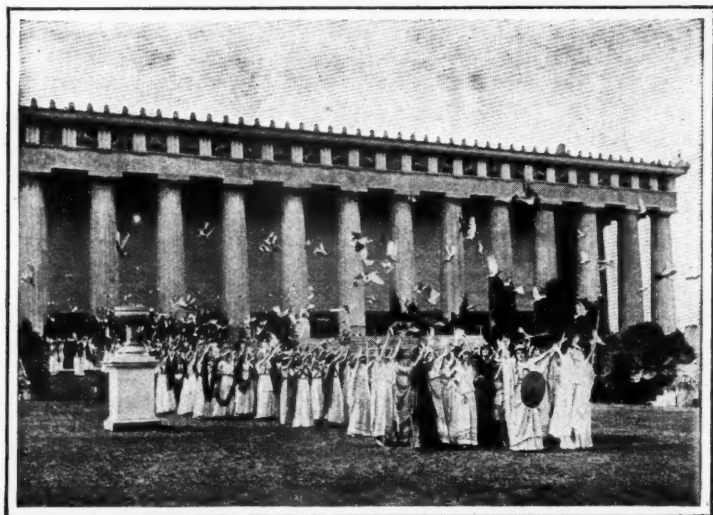
The Eleusinian Mysteries of Greece, or the Mysteries of Mithra, or in the rock-hewn temples of India, all had their philosophical pageant-drama symbolizing this mystical journey of the soul as it, becoming

unweighted of impurities, reascends to its pristine source—the Atma or world-soul.

The drama as it flourished in Greece, especially in the golden cycle of Pericles, was a direct outgrowth of these aforementioned priestly pageants.

It is not widely understood that the plays of the Argive master-poets were religious allegories depicting the passion of some God-seeking hero, his trials, ordeals and labors; the Grecian word for actor, being interpreted, is *moral teacher*, and the plays were produced under sacerdotal authority.

In producing their drama-pageants, the authors kept always three audiences in mind—the philosophical and religious, the artist and connoisseur, and lastly the populace. Firstly there must be a philosophical postulate developed logically and synthetically to the ultimate to appeal to the sages and those who frequented the groves and academies of the philosophers; secondly beauty, technique,



THE ORDEAL BY THE "FLIGHT OF DOVES" IN "THE FIRE REGAINED"

and perfection of artistry to satisfy the artist, critic and dilettante, and lastly a romantic, spectacular and sentimental phase—to interest and impress the multitude.

The passion play at Ober-Ammergau is our nearest approach to pageant-drama of the past, but the extraordinary success that has attended the giving of pageants in the last few years in Europe, England and America has given this important form of civic entertainment and instruction a new impetus and prominence. The enormous audiences that have assured the success of these enterprises furnish in themselves an answer to the argu-

ment that there is no demand for the classical—or so-called artistic form of dramatic entertainment. In fact, it is a silencing rejoinder to "the tired business-man" plea, for not only does the tired business man go to see outdoor pageantry, but he takes his wife and sends his sons and daughters. For it is readily recognized that it is not logical nor intelligent to presuppose that the business man premeditatedly attends or causes the members of his family to attend forms of entertainment that tend to degrade, but on the contrary it is reasonable to believe (and the success of pageantry has proved



THE MIRACULOUS APPEARANCE OF ATHENE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED."

(The building in the background is a reproduction of the Parthenon at Athens)



SCENE IN "THE FIRE REGAINED."

(After the shepherd is resurrected from the tomb by Athene and speeds off on his sacred mission of rescuing one of the Hestian maiden priestesses)

the assertion) that he supports banality in theatrical attraction because of his not knowing or having the opportunity of patronizing a higher form.

Pageantry in England, through the efforts of Louis N. Parker, Miss Pauline Sherwood Townsend and others, has been established on a permanent and firm basis. The pageant at Warwick, with several thousand participants, is a spectacle of surpassing beauty and one to be long remembered.

In Germany, a few months ago, a monster pageant was given from the pen of Hauptmann, the Nobel prize-winner, but owing to the hostility of the German Crown Prince to the subject-matter (dealing as it did in an allegorical manner with Napoleon and somewhat to the discredit of the German military idols) the authorities, by the direct command of the Crown Prince, were compelled to discontinue the pageant, notwithstanding that tens of thousands of citizens had attended and enjoyed each performance.

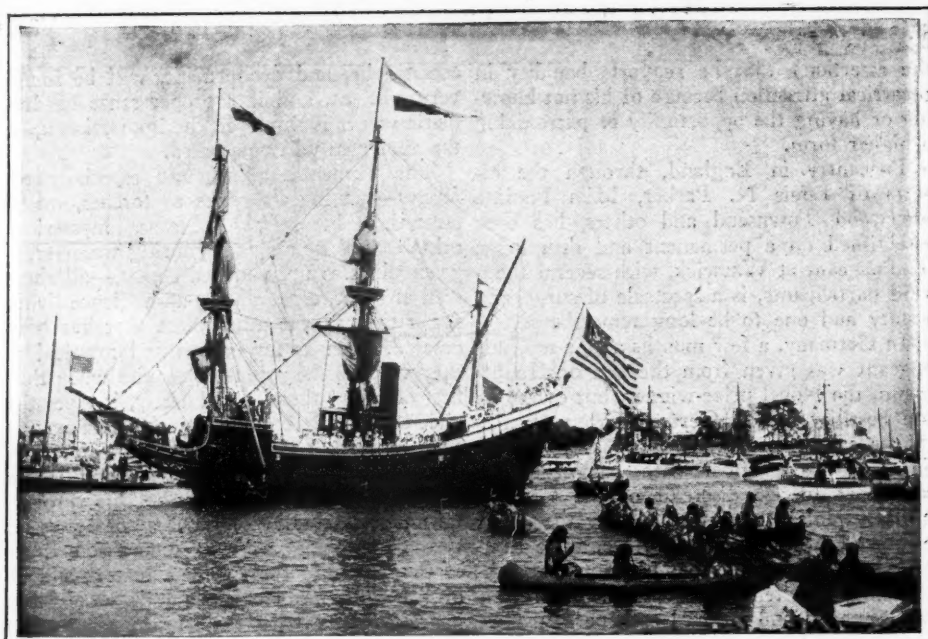
In the critical observation and study of the pageant, it is recognized that simplicity and synthesis make a more direct appeal than the episodic, loosely strung together, no matter how dramatic or picturesque the single moment may be. A simple plot developed along the usual plan of construction, that is to say prologue, development,

catastrophe, and dénouement, will be found very efficient, and if a proper sense of dramatic values is employed the impression upon the audiences will be assured.

The elemental things are especially effective—blazing altar-fires or torches, smoke ascending in spiral columns, mysterious mists caused by maidens pouring water from graceful vases upon heated stones,—all these seen at night, especially by an audience living for a time in the atmosphere that has been created, seem as mysterious and mystical as they were to the primitive peoples when they first observed them. And lastly, it gives the civic-center the opportunity for self-expression, without which the soul dies and through which the soul thrives and learns to know itself; for who but he who through initiation into the mysteries of creation through creating, can understand something of the nature of the Divine Creator; and he or she who has participated or observed a pageant-drama with maidens in diaphanous draperies of delicate pinks and blues, sandal-shod, and with loosened hair, dancing on the green, propitiating the gods with sacrifice or sending aloft hundreds of young voices, a pæan of praise to supremest Jove, has received and given an impression that is cultural, delightful and lasting, and a form of entertainment that is ennobling and satisfying.



ON THE ROAD TO THE PARTHENON WITH THE SACRIFICE IN
"THE FIRE REGAINED"



Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

PAGEANT AT NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., JUNE, 1913. "HALF MOON" AT BONNEFOI POINT

WHAT THE PAGEANT DOES FOR LOCAL HISTORY

BY HERBERT T. WADE

WERE testimony needed to show that in many cities and towns of the United States people look back upon local history and traditions with quite as much interest and fondness as do the inhabitants of the older nations of Europe, it is to be found in the continuous succession of pageants recently held for purpose of local celebration. Such a form of expression of civic pride and interest might be deemed rather more appropriate for a town of as ancient lineage as Coventry, in England, where the legendary exploit of Lady Godiva has been the subject of a street pageant since 1678, or of such continental cities as Siena, Bruges, Nuremberg, and other places, rich in picturesque tradition and display, inherited from the early guilds and other associations. Yet it has been a universal experience that the pageant is of wide general interest, not only when celebrated with special and traditional continuity, as in the case of the cities cited, but when arranged for a special celebration or for purpose of calling attention to the ancient and honorable history of a city.

Accordingly some ten years ago in Great Britain, a twentieth-century revival of pageantry took place, and more than local interest was aroused in the remarkable spectacles that brought the past so vividly before the present. Sherborne, in 1905, had a memorable display of this kind, followed by one in 1906 at Warwick, described in the REVIEW of August, 1906. In 1907 similar celebrations at Oxford and Bury St. Edmunds were also notable, while in the next year Winchester, Chelsea and Dover also had noteworthy shows of this kind. In 1909 the English Church at Fulham Palace celebrated a pageant that afforded ample opportunity for the display of the ecclesiastical pomp of a historic past.

These pageants were more than mere costume processions, though, of course, this feature was conspicuous both in its brilliancy and in the faithfulness of historic detail, and where there was a book or written words for the characters, it was prepared with care. The well-known English dramatist, Louis N. Parker, whose work is familiar to American

theatergoers, was responsible for the book in a number of the English pageants. All of these celebrations were distinctly local so far as their organization and execution were concerned, and, in fact, this is the keynote of all modern pageantry. The characters, wherever possible, were assumed by the members of the community, and represented a spontaneous outburst of local feeling in which all classes participated, as the pageants were arranged to portray



Copyright by the American Press Association, New York

"INDIANS" IN THE NEW ROCHELLE PAGEANT

the deeds, manners and amusements of yeoman and artisan no less than of the titled gentry and their historic ancestors.

With the occurrence of anniversary celebrations in the United States and with the aroused interest in local history and increased civic pride, it was not strange that the pageant should prove an attractive vehicle of expression and eagerly to be availed of for such celebrations. Local history organizations had aimed to interest school children in the often illustrious past of the community of which they were a part, in the contributions of men and measures the town or city had made to national or state history, and the historic scenes that had been enacted within its very limits and borders. To read of such men and events was something; to see memorial tablets or statues and to be lectured to was, perhaps, better, but when the very scene was enacted before the eyes of the citizen, the lesson was impressed with as much force as with interest and permanence. Added to this and the picturesque brilliancy of costume and setting, was the fact that the actors were the people of the town or city themselves, often the very descendants of the men and women whose characters they portrayed, and town mayors and sheriffs and teachers would don the costumes and play the parts of their predecessors in honorable office.

The pageant may be staged either on some natural amphitheater or a forest glade, or the

effect may be that of a procession with a succession of incidents. The effects are produced by masses of actors rather than by individuals. With the moving tableaux should go a written book, well spoken either by the characters in their respective parts, or by a single allegorical character. The sympathy of the spectator who is, for the most part, an interested observer, must be gained at the outset.

In addition to the history there must be continuity to the action, not the dramatic succession of events in an exaggerated story of the moving-picture film, but the conscious blending of incidents more or less familiar to the spectator. He may have heard vaguely of the colonists who settled his town, the men who went forth from it to battle for liberty, or the genius that made it a manufacturing center by some notable invention or manifestation of commercial enterprise or industry. All of this shown forth by appropriately costumed actors stimulates the civic pride of the citizen and arouses in him the desire to make still more illustrious the good name of his town, of which, perhaps, until now he has had little understanding or appreciation.

Such an illustrated story of development is a favorite form of American pageant, and is found as often, perhaps, as the commemoration of a single event, even though the cause of the celebration is the anniversary of a notable occurrence.

Many such shows have been given in the



THE VISION OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN, AS REPRESENTED AT ST. JOHNSBURY, VT.

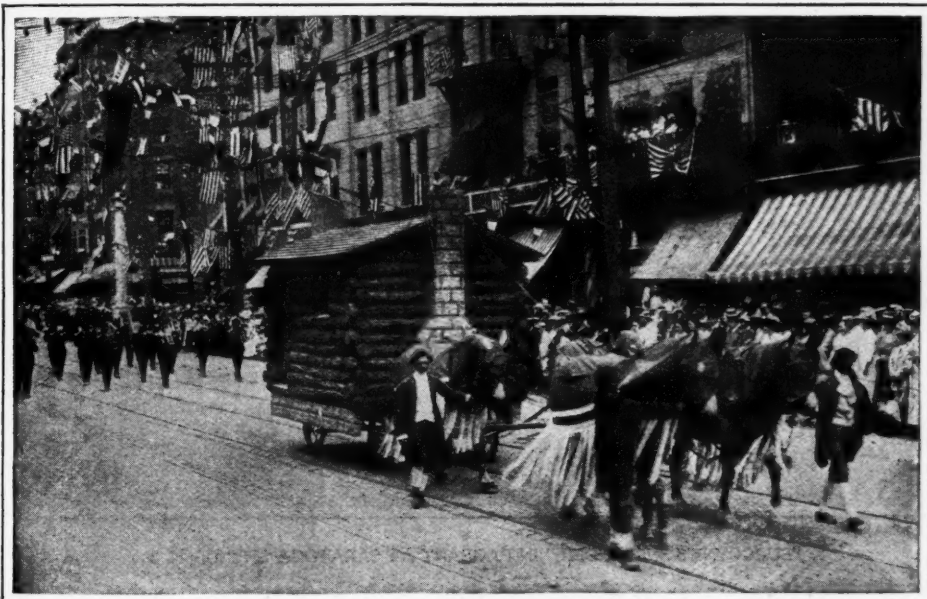
United States with greater or less formality and elaboration, but perhaps the most successful are those given in suburban, or, at least, partly rural communities. Several such that have attracted more than local attention form the subjects of the illustrations accompanying this article. Thus the water pageant commemorative of the two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the settling of New Rochelle, N. Y., celebrated from June 22 to 28,

was a unique feature of this most successful commemoration, which was attended by special delegates from the ancient town of Rochelle in France and the French Government. There the Huguenots sailed into the harbor on the replica of the *Half Moon* which had figured previously in the Hudson-Fulton celebration, and were received by the Indians in their canoes.

Another pageant of interest was that given



PAGEANT AT MERIDEN, N. H.

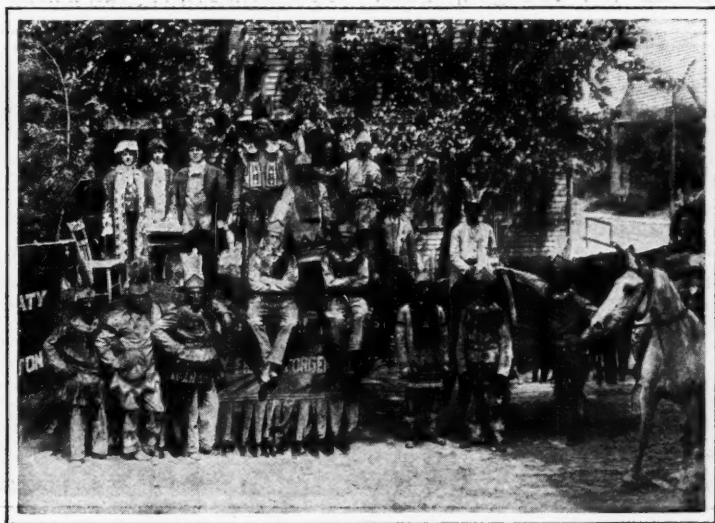


PAGEANT AT EASTON, PA., JUNE, 1913. "A FIRST SETTLER'S HOME"

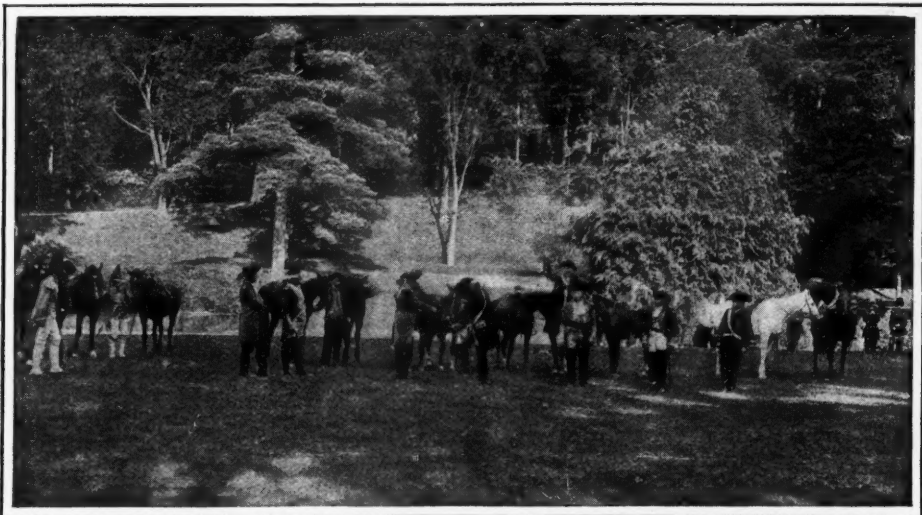
last spring at Meriden, N. H., where the local history of the town was celebrated, as was the case in the St. Johnsbury, Vt., pageant of 1912, where there was considerable elaboration of the theme, which was, in short, the development of the town and its rise to industrial importance. Here the pageant began and closed with allegory, the opening being the dawn of civilization and the settling of the primeval forest by an alien race, while

the conclusion was the vision of the Knights of St. John and the protecting influence hovering over the town. Of course, in succession came the scenes from the town's history, with due reference, naturally, to the invention of the platform scale by Fairbanks and the founding of a great industry.

In the life history of a New England manufacturing town immigration has, of course, had its effect, and this was noted in



"INDIANS" AT EASTON, PA., JUNE, 1913



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

"BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER," IN PAGEANT AT SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y.

the pageant by the presence of Europeans and Canadians in their native costumes and giving their folk-dances. Dancing and music form a usual concomitant of the modern pageant, and the interest recently manifested in folk-dancing naturally finds expression, especially where a foreign race or people has settled or flocked to a community in considerable numbers.

In New England, pageants during the last few years have been remarkably successful, for in addition to these mentioned, similar celebrations have been held at Thetford, Vt., and at Taunton and Arlington, Mass.

The New England towns, often apparently quiet and sleepy, furnish ideal scenes for such displays, as the dramatic elements in their history stand out in such striking contrast to their present-day calm and repose. An Indian massacre, or the quiet farmers roused to deeds of daring by Paul Revere's ride, appears of even greater dramatic value when considered in the present-day atmosphere. But it is not only New England, with its historic Indians, colonial and revolutionary days, and its period of industrial growth, that has been so celebrated.

In Easton, Pa., in June, a notable pageant



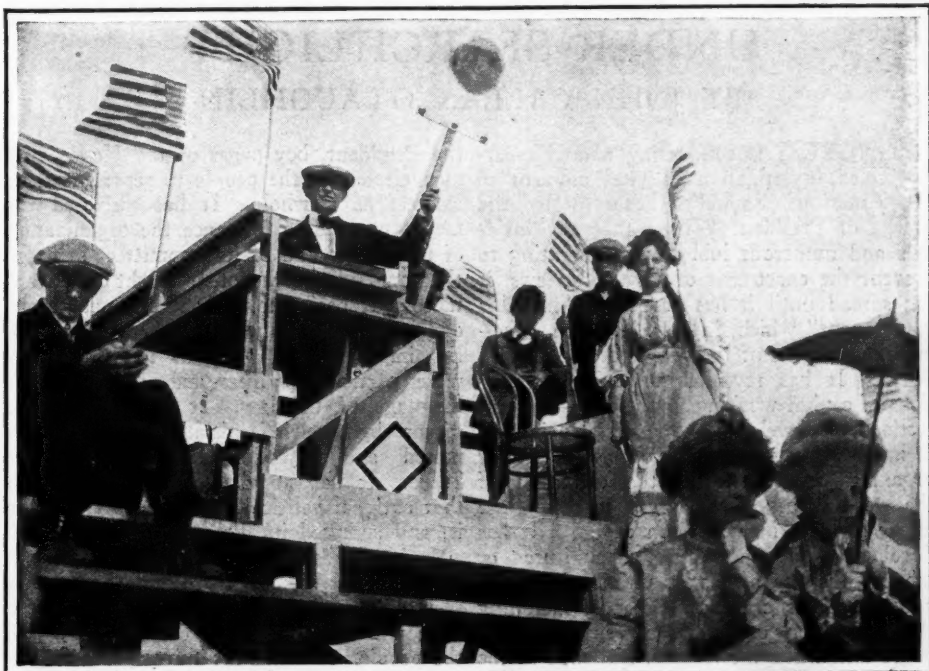
Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

BENEDICT ARNOLD, WOUNDED, CARRIED FROM THE FIELD AT SARATOGA

was held, while on the California coast old scenes have been reenacted that have emphasized the striking picturesqueness of the past. Various Indian tribes have given their ancient ceremonies in pageant form, and at Saratoga the notable surrender of Burgoyne was portrayed very impressively during July with all the pomp and circumstance of military splendor. Indeed, one could make an extensive list of the various pageants held within the last decade throughout the United States, even in the crowded city streets temporarily roped off to form open-air stages for their production. In every case there has been distinct individuality of treatment, and in every case the results and lessons have been immediate and noteworthy. In its effect on the newly arrived, the pageant has proved a most valuable lesson in history and civics, while from an artistic point of view the arrangement of colors and costumes in the most successful, staged as they have often been on the greensward with picturesque backgrounds, has carried a lesson in beauty which makes for the uplift of a community.

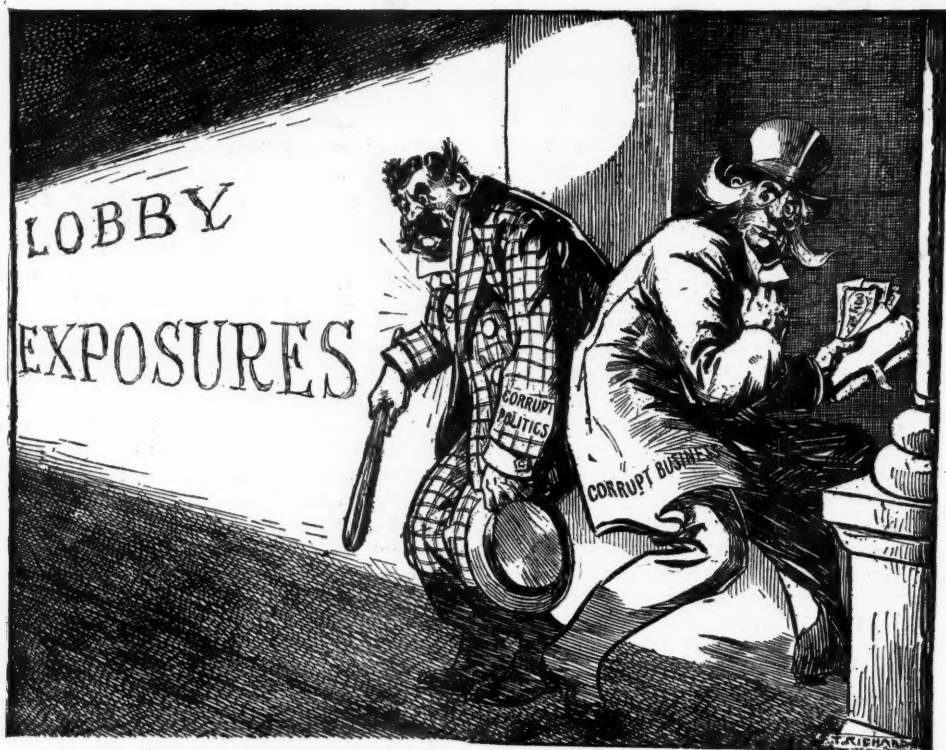
In fact the pageant may be said to represent a development in expression quite as much as the development of events which it seeks to portray. From the noisy fireworks

and the fantastic garbed processions, the county fair or other assemblage arranged for purpose of celebration, even to the commemorative mass meeting surcharged with oratory that few can hear and few can appreciate, to the quiet and artistic presentation of dramatic pictures by the citizens themselves is indeed a note of progress. It has been said that underlying most of our civic ills is ignorance, and if an attractive lesson of the history of a community can be taught, if the story of its past with its struggles and its glories can be imparted, then the citizens of to-day, proud in their knowledge of what their forerunners have done, will endeavor to prove themselves equally alive to present-day problems. Furthermore, it is most gratifying that to-day such expression should take picturesque and artistic form, rather than the mere tawdry display of garish or fanciful costume. To no appeal will a community respond sooner than to one to its artistic sense, however elemental and hidden it may be, and such response has often been obtained by those responsible for civic pageants. It is indeed pleasing to read the continued success of these shows, and to urge that there is no better way of commemorating a historic anniversary than by a pageant arranged by the citizens.



PROMPTER GIVING CUE TO ACTORS IN A PAGEANT

(Several hundred actors sometimes take part in these pageant plays. In the photograph the stage director, or prompter, is seen notifying the waiting players of their cue by a process of "wig-wagging")



From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

“THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT” UNDER SEARCHLIGHT

BY JOHN CALLAN O’LAUGHLIN

CONGRESS is conducting a double-barreled investigation of vital moment to the American Republic. Started by the charge of President Wilson that an “insidious and numerous lobby” was operating to prevent the enactment of his tariff views, it has spread until it has bared the “invisible government” which, in fact, has been directing the destinies of the people of the United States. It has revealed powerful aggregations of capital working to one end—the protection and development of special privilege. It has brought to light the feeble efforts of organized labor to better the condition of the working people, and even to secure the upper hand in its war upon capital. It has developed an enormous expenditure of money; the use of secret, unfair, dishonest, and sometimes criminal, methods, including the corruption of public servants—humble negro and white messengers, stationed at the doors of committee rooms and the office of

the President, boy pages of the House, and men elected by the people to represent their interest as a whole. It has disclosed the tactics pursued to influence the organization of the House and of its committees in order that one side or the other might be advantaged. It has established that special interests have dictated not only the customs duties imposed upon products in which they were particularly interested, but even the language of the law. It has exposed the means by which legislation desired was passed and objectionable legislation was killed. It has unveiled a power so great that national political parties have yielded to it, and accepted its dictum as their policies.

It is an absorbing tale which thus far is in outline only—for there will be further facts developed which, with those now available, will make a mosaic destined to appall the people. During the thirty years the investigation has covered, they will find they

have been exploited by cunning adventurers, to use no worse term, who have kept their hands upon the throttle of legislation, and who, to gain their ends, have considered no expense too great, no means beneath their service. These men have gone into States and Congressional districts, notably in the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, to elect candidates in sympathy with their views and to defeat men opposed to them. Indeed, the ambition of some men seeming to control the policy of the National Association of Manufacturers, as disclosed by their own letters, has soared to the point of influencing the election of a President of the United States and the appointment of a member of his cabinet. Literally, the great interests have spent money like water and found it profitable; and in order to escape responsibility for their acts they have burned books, sent unsigned instructions, and designated their employees by numbers instead of by their proper names.

ORGANIZED LABOR INVOLVED

Astonishing as these revelations are, they still fail to tell the whole story of the battle between capital and labor which has been fought largely beneath the surface in Washington and elsewhere. We find the National Association of Manufacturers devoting itself to strike-breaking. The record of evidence is full of treachery on the part of labor men, of betrayal by them of the poor devils who blindly confided their fortunes to their hands. We find these traitors reporting every move contemplated to bring the employers to terms, and adopting devious means to assure victory for their "enemies." We find the ramifications of the association so extensive that it is even said to have employees of the American Federation of Labor upon its pay-roll. And crowning all is the report of an abortive effort to bribe the president of the Federation.

AIDES SUBSIDIZED BY BIG BUSINESS

It is illuminating to describe the methods the testimony shows to have been employed by Big Business to secure or defeat legislation. It has obtained the services of the most skilful men it can get. They may be divided roughly into three classes. The first is composed of able lawyers, prepared by legitimate argument to present the side they are retained to advocate. The second comprises legislative lawyers, receiving enormous salaries, whose business it is to haunt the capitol and bring to bear every art at their command



LOOK UNDER THE BED!
From the Eagle (Brooklyn)

to advance legislation desired by their clients or to obstruct and delay legislation inimical to the interests of those clients. This involves the use of parliamentary or unparliamentary tactics, the extension of social courtesies, and the attempt to place members of the Senate and House and officials of the Administration under personal obligation. The third class is made up of ex-Senators and ex-Congressmen, who exercise large influence with those actually in the Senate and House by reason of the standing they enjoy through the confidence the people of their respective States and districts showed they reposed in them; by reason of their long association with members of the two houses; and by reason of their experience in legislative affairs.

ACTIVITIES OF MANUFACTURERS AND THEIR AGENTS

Besides the several classes of men I have described, the evidence shows the employment of another class, skilful men who performed the functions of detectives. Martin M. Mulhall, long a confidential agent of the National Association of Manufacturers, whose letters forced the investigators to delve into the operations of the association, belongs to this class. It was his duty, as he swore on the witness-stand and as his reports assert, to visit various States and dis-

tricts, purchasing men on the other side, burrowing into the defense of the opposition and undermining it, aiding and opposing Congressional and gubernatorial candidates, bribing labor representatives, and advancing by secret and infamous methods the aims of the association. His sordid evidence would be of little weight standing by itself; but reinforced by letters from the presidents and officers of the association heartily congratulating him upon the work he had done and commending him as worthy of supreme confidence, it has to be given consideration. But more important are the original letters he has produced and others subpoenaed from the association itself, all tending to prove the intense interest of the association in legislation and in labor matters. None of these letters, and this is significant, has the association repudiated. It stands by them, asserting that they show nothing sinister, but only a legitimate use of methods available to everyone.

"ACCELERATING PUBLIC SENTIMENT"

It is interesting to elaborate a little further the tactics employed by Special Privilege. A favorite policy has been to impress the President and members of the Senate and House with the existence of a determined public sentiment for or against a measure when in fact the public was only slightly, or perhaps not at all, interested. For example, the officials named have been flooded with letters or telegrams emanating from the same source but signed by different names. To create a sentiment, friendly Senators and members were persuaded to deliver speeches, written by the lobbyists, which were published at the Government Printing Office and mailed by the thousands under Government frank. Pamphlets, also written by the lobbyists, likewise were printed, in part at public expense, and mailed without charge. Newspapers were induced to print matter favorable to the interests concerned. Advertisements were published, to which there could be no objection, unless misleading, but they must be taken into account because they constituted an item of campaign expense.

BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR

Sometimes the effrontery of the lobbyists went to the point of inducing voters, whose interests they said would be injuriously or advantageously affected, to threaten their Representatives with defeat if they failed to pursue a certain course of action. This was the experience of Senator Robinson, of Ar-

kansas, who favored a low duty on rice in the pending Tariff bill, and of other Senators. Perhaps the best statement of the pressure applied to a member of Congress was given by Senator Thomas, of Colorado, who dared to support the President in his demand for free sugar. Under cross-examination by Senator Cummins, and drawing a parallel, Mr. Thomas said:

I think, Senator Cummins, if when your Interstate Commerce Committee reports out an anti-trust bill, these various associations and the corporations begin a similar propaganda, calling attention to the terrible consequence to labor, to producer, and to consumer, to the ruin which must inevitably result from any interference with those huge combinations, and that in consequence thereof a sentiment is created which finds expression in newspaper warnings, which you will receive from every county in your State, in multitudes of letters and telegrams pouring in upon you, outlining similar conditions all over the country, you will see that there is a great deal more than your question implies, and that it would be a movement and a determined movement to prevent you doing what your conscience and your duty tell you as a Senator you ought to do with reference to that great question.

HOW TARIFFS HAVE BEEN MADE

The country has known for years that a prominent Boston wool manufacturer wrote the wool schedule. Senator Lippitt, of Rhode Island, a cotton manufacturer, advised Senator Aldrich, according to his own testimony, when the cotton rates of the existing law were under consideration. Through a system of log-rolling, of promising certain interests they would get what they wanted if they would have their Representatives support what others wanted, the tariff has been built up. During the present revision, the cane-sugar growers of Louisiana, Porto Rico, and Hawaii have combined with the domestic beet-sugar producers in opposition to free sugar. Combating them and supporting the President is the great refinery trust. Letters were produced showing that the Louisiana interests promised the votes of their Senators for a satisfactory duty on citrus fruits if those engaged in producing the latter would deliver the votes of their Senators for a duty on sugar. So the combinations have been made in the past. It has failed this time to some extent, largely because the conscience of the people is awakened and there is a more intelligent interest displayed in public affairs and in the conduct of men in office.

WHAT LOBBYING COSTS

The expense of lobbying operations is heavy. During the last six years, it is al-

leged, \$1,500,000 passed through the hands of the National Council for Industrial Defense, an unincorporated association organized largely on paper and dominated, it would appear, by agents of the manufacturers as a means of evading the national statute against campaign contributions by corporations. This sum does not represent all that was disbursed; for a system was devised whereby local manufacturers contributed to local Congressional campaigns. The Sugar Trust is said to have used more than \$750,000 in fighting the Cuban reciprocity treaty. During the past twenty years men identified with the beet-sugar interests confessed to the expenditure of \$500,000. Since last November these same interests have disbursed over \$50,000; and the combined expenditure of all the sugar lobbies in connection with the present tariff revision is certainly \$500,000. The funds were raised for the sugar campaign through a system of taxation upon production. In the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Council of Industrial Defense attended to the financial end of the work.

BRIBERY WITHOUT PASSAGE OF MONEY

Where did the money go? Who got it? These pertinent questions are in a way of being answered. One member of Congress is charged with having received money for his services to the National Association of Manufacturers. It has been stated that for years there has been no actual passage of money to members of Congress. To a large extent this is true. But there are many ways

by which a member who does the bidding of an interest may be rewarded. Help in his campaign for reelection, either in the way of cash given him directly, or through his campaign committee, and frequently through the dispatch of agents to his State—as Mulhall went to Indiana, Ohio, Maine, and New Jersey—has proven an effective way of returning favors. It is clear from the evidence that the devil easily may be beaten around the stump, if there is only the will.

GOOD EFFECTS OF PUBLICITY

Facing the condition which the revelations of the lobby investigation show to exist, the question arises, What shall be done to correct it and really to restore to the people the kind of government to which they are entitled? Publicity has done much. The very fact that such reprehensible methods have been exposed will tend, for a time at least, to prevent men from practising them. It is not likely the decent members of the National Association of Manufacturers—and there are thousands of them—knew anything about the character of Mulhall's work and that of others, as described in the testimony; and the chances are they will take measures to end it and perhaps go so far as to dissolve their organization. Undoubtedly legislation will be pressed to prevent the creation of another such association. Corporations are now prohibited by law from contributing to primary and election campaigns. It is but a step to supplement this law by forbidding a combination of corporations to do as the testimony concerning the National Association of Manufacturers alleges it has done.

In addition, there should be a blanket provision for publicity, which will assure a searchlight upon campaigns, Congressional committee organization, and committee work, and the Congressional caucus. A law now forbids a member of the cabinet to practise before the departments for a certain period after his retirement. A similar law should be enacted with reference to the lobbying of ex-Senators and ex-Congressmen before Congress. These men should be denied the privilege of the floor of the two houses. Finally, there should be a law requiring the registration of lobbyists and limiting their appearance before committees.

The time will never come when legislation will not be granted by favor. Personal friendship is certain to be influential; and personal considerations, in spite of claims to the contrary, sometimes will sway a man's



WORRIED!

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)



"SHOULD AULD ACQUAINTANCE BE FORGOT?"

From the *News-Press* (St. Joseph, Mo.)

decision. There are members of the Senate, according to their own testimony, who have large investments in lead, zinc, iron and coal mines; in flocks of sheep; in timber, wool, cotton, and other commodities. A tariff revision is naturally of direct concern to them. There are others who own railroad stock and their holdings will be affected by legislation or by the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Still others have newspapers, farms, etc. It has been suggested that these men should refrain from voting upon any measure which personally affects them, and one Senator showed the way in this respect by announcing, when the Aldrich bill was under consideration, that he would not vote to increase the duty upon a product in which he was interested. To adopt this as a rule, however, would militate against the public, for the reason that the elimination of a number of votes might enable the passage of bad legislation or the defeat of good legislation. The tendency of this procedure would be to keep from the Senate men of brains who have made a business success and who are compelled to make proper investments of their savings.

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE HAS NO POLITICS

The evidence produced by the lobby investigation is certain to have a tremendous political effect. A Democratic President made the charge upon which a Republican Senator

introduced the resolution for the probe. Big Business is shown to have no politics. It has been as willing to debauch a Republican Representative as a Democratic Representative. The Republican party, however, is deeper in the mud than the Democratic party is in the mire. Probably this is due to the fact that the Republican party was so long in power, and one of its representatives in Congress was worth four of the minority. By reason of its long career as a party of the opposition, the Democratic party naturally would be more inclined to listen to the voice of labor.

The Government of the United States, in order to be a government of the people, must be free. Surely, former Senator Beveridge must have been inspired when, proclaiming the birth of the Progressive party, he used this language:

These special interests, which suck the people's substance, are bipartisan. They use both parties. They are the invisible government behind the visible government. Democratic and Republican bosses alike and brother officers of this hidden power. No matter how fiercely they pretend to fight one another before election, they work together after election. And acting so, this political conspiracy is able to delay, mutilate, or defeat sound and needed laws for the people's welfare and the prosperity of honest business, and even to enact bad laws, hurtful to the people's welfare and oppressive to honest business. It is this invisible government which is the real danger to American institutions. Its crude work at Chicago in June which the people were able to see was no more wicked than its skilful work everywhere and always which the people are not able to see.



NIGHTMARE

From the *World* (New York)

THE GOVERNMENT, THE PEOPLE AND THE LABOR PROBLEM

THE FIELD OF WORK BEFORE THE FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS JUST APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON

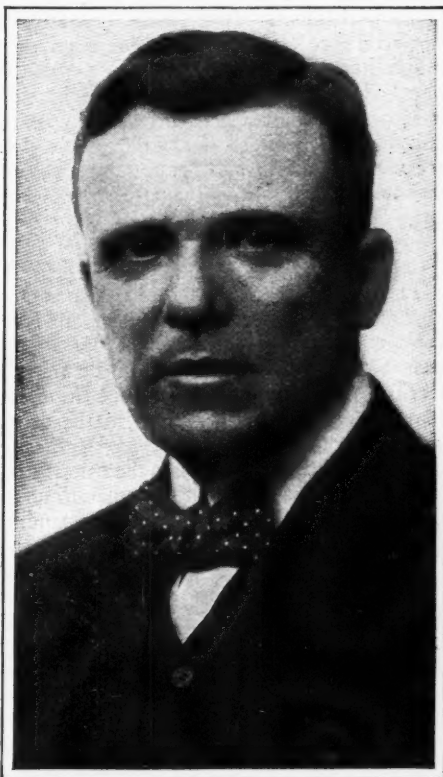
BY PAUL U. KELLOGG

BACK and forth the pendulum swings. This summer it is the National Association of Manufacturers which has been charged by one of its former agents with fighting labor underhand—not in the open, but secretly, by hiring turncoats to betray the unions. Two years ago it was a national labor organization which was charged by one of its former agents with fighting capital underhand—not in the open, but stealthily, by hiring dynamiters to blow up buildings and bridges.

So the advantage tilts and swings from one side of the industrial cleavage to the other. If the average citizen were sure that the pendulum really was getting us further along in the day, bringing us to a better understanding for the world's work, he might be content to let it take its course, biding the time. But is it? Or are we wasting precious energies in industrial contention which might be turned to good account if men and managers were not so frequently and needlessly set at loggerheads. Not that their interests will ever be identical. We do not expect those of shipper and railroad to be identical—even under Government ownership; but we have found that it pays to put an end to rebates, discriminations and unreasonable rates. We consciously set about shearing away needless injustices and irritations so that common interests can be affirmed and developed, and so that conflicting interests can come to equilibrium with the least friction.

This, in essence, has been the motive back of the movement for the Industrial Relations Commission which has been appointed by President Wilson, and which is to enter upon a three years' plan of work at a probable outlay of half a million dollars.

As such movements go, legislation creating the commission was secured in record time. But seven months elapsed from the initiation of the project to the signing of the Hughes-Borah bill by President Taft.



MR. FRANK P. WALSH, OF KANSAS CITY, CHAIRMAN OF THE RECENTLY APPOINTED FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Seven years were consumed in the campaign for a Federal Children's Bureau.

THE DYNAMITE DISCLOSURES AND THEIR RESULTS

The Los Angeles trials of 1911 gave the movement occasion; but its promoters regarded those trials merely as a surface outcropping of fundamental maladjustments in the economic life. When the McNamara confessions struck the public between the

eyes, the natural reaction of vast numbers of people was to call on labor to put its house in order. The corresponding reaction of some of the more militant unionists was to cite counter abuses at the hands of capital—the old cry of “You’re another.” It is difficult at this date to recall the black temper with which the confessions were received. The public mind closed up like a trap. The cry was for vengeance. The two million men and women of the American labor movement were all but lumped in a single indictment. It took the sort of grit that won’t be stampeded not to join in the public hue and cry against those workers who had used dynamite to secure their ends, and to stop and ask, What was happening and might happen to the workers who had not used dynamite and would not? What channels were open to them to better their conditions?

ORIGIN OF THE COMMISSION

That is just what a group of men and women attempted at a meeting in New York held early in December, close on the heels of the confessions. Their plea for a hearing met with disparagement in some quarters. It fell on deaf ears in the offices of certain newspapers and news-gathering agencies which were scouring the country for bulletins about bombs, but were handling little or nothing about the economic quandary that lay back of them. For, if you tie two cats by the tails and throw them across a clothes-line, there is a Kilkenny story in the doings of the cats. It is the clothes-line, to be sure, that is the crux of the matter, but it has no news value. Thus our general habits of journalism themselves—quite apart from any tendency toward partisanship in the struggle—have hindered rather than helped toward the common enlightenment.

SOCIAL WORKERS WHO HELPED

“What we need is more light and less heat,” said an East Side neighborhood worker, who had known intimately the successes and heartaches of a thousand East Side wage-earners’ families, and who had stood beside them in sickness and strife. By chance the head worker of Hull House was in New York at the time of the meeting. She it was who presided, with the same moral courage and instinct for voicing inarticulate human needs that she had shown twenty years before when the Pullman strike and the great strike of the American Railway Union under Debs lowered over the West.

Others of the group were a Jewish rabbi who, I am told, declined the offer of one of the wealthiest Fifth Avenue temples before he started the uphill fight of founding a free synagogue; a preacher who has seen multimillionaires leave his congregation, and has kept on preaching; a chemical manufacturer who threw his commanding influence for pure-drug legislation, when it brought down against him the anathema of his own trade; a big real-estate dealer, who had the nerve to enter into a movement for land-tax reform. There was the special Government investigator who probed the stock-yards after the exposures of “The Jungle”; there was the investigator of steel districts, who had brought out with even-handed justice where the Amalgamated Association broke its contracts, and how the Steel Corporation runs its spy system. There were men who had helped work out joint boards in the cloak, suit, and skirt industries in New York, and brought the first oases of order into the anarchy of the garment trades. They were practically all people who were neither employers nor employees, but who knew conditions first-hand, and had had a part in settling industrial disputes. They felt that the times had brought them an obligation to stand out and speak from that coign of vantage.

A letter was drawn up to the President; not of protest, but of constructive proposal. It was taken to Washington at the time the economists, sociologists and political scientists were holding their annual conferences there, and many of the foremost university men in the country signed it en route to the White House.

THE LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN

President Taft strongly recommended such an inquiry in a message in February, 1912. A national committee was organized, headquarters established in New York, and Edward T. Devine, then general secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society and editor of *The Survey*, gave up winter and spring to the heavy task of organizing and directing the legislative campaign. In the summer his place was taken by Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University. At the end of August, the bill was signed by President Taft.

Adolph Lewisohn, philanthropist and mining capitalist, gave \$5000 at the outset to carry on the agitation. Later contributions were made by Mrs. Emmons Blaine and Julius Rosenwald, of the Chicago committee

which coöperated. The Pittsburgh Civic Commission, which had promoted important municipal reforms in the steel district, felt that here was its chance for service in the economic field. It granted leave of absence to its secretary, Allen T. Burns, who spent six months in Washington, canvassing Senators and Congressmen, and forwarding the bill at every stage until it was signed. A series of articles interpreting the proposed legislation, and citing the facts of the great strikes in different industrial centers, were sent broadcast to the newspapers, to the labor press and to the trade journals. Hundreds of letters went out to organizations and individuals in all parts of the country.

CHAMPIONS IN CONGRESS

The campaign was by no means easy sledding at every stage. It called for an even course. The confidence and support of the American Federation of Labor was secured on the one hand and that of the National Manufacturers' Association on the other. Senator Root's endorsement carried weight with vast groups of people; that of Secretary Wilson, then Chairman of the Labor Committee of the House, was of equal weight with other groups. Senator Borah, who had shown iron nerve during the miners' war, in prosecuting the Moyer-Haywood case, sponsored the bill through the Committee on Education and Labor (of which he was chairman) and through the Senate. Senator Hughes, a man who carries a union card himself, and at that session one of the most progressive leaders on the Democratic side of the lower House, championed it there.

DEMANDED BY LABOR AND CAPITAL

At a hearing before a Congressional committee, John Mitchell, former head of the United Mine Workers, held that "all the people of the country—not only the laborers, but industrial concerns, and the railroads"—would be benefited by an investigation which would determine accurately the extent to which it is wise for the Government "to afford the machinery for the maintenance of righteous industrial relations." Said John R. McArthur, head of a New York contracting firm which operates all over the country:

We are bidding this week on another piece of work with thirty or thirty-five bidders. Am I going to add to my price several thousand dollars just for the mere comfort of workmen and thus read ourselves out of competition? I wish I could, but I can't.



Copyright by American Press Association, New York

MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN, OF NEW YORK
(Member of the Industrial Relations Commission)

A man in a competitive business can not make these concessions to his employees if he wants to keep in business unless his competitors do, and they won't all do it if they don't all have to. And therefore none of them can do it and stay in business. I am not advocating legislation to this end. I have a dread of too much legislation. And yet there is the problem. We want light, and therefore we want this commission. If these things, these better conditions, are demanded by the workmen and by a heightened sense of human obligations, a way to secure them can be found. I do not think the employer should or would stand in the way if they—the employers—are all put on an even basis. And after all, who pays for it eventually? The very people that demand it—the public at large.

THE NEW COMMISSION

The bill once passed, the work of the committee of promotion did not end there. It felt an obligation to those who joined with it to see that an effective commission was appointed. It had the independence to block President Taft's appointments, even when they included one of their own number, because it felt that the nominations as a whole did not measure up to the job. "I will not be a party to another capitalistic humbug," wrote one of the leading university men of the West. "It will be the Industrial Commission (with Penrose at the

head) over again." The committee had the independence, also, to cross swords with old-line labor leaders on the ground that no representative of the insurgent movements either within or without the American Federation of Labor was included in the list.

Some of these deficiencies carry over into the commission as named by President Wilson. It includes no woman worker, and the problem of industrial relations for women workers is not merely one of relations with employers, but of relations with the men's unions. And it includes no representative of the militant industrial unionists, who have championed the cause of common labor as against the skilled trades and their joint employers, and whose tactics and organizations are as much opposed by the conservative unions as by the employers themselves. Neither has this commission, which is to study the causes of social unrest, a representative of the Socialists, nor of the militant anti-union leaders among the manufacturers. It is made up rather of those elements which in the past have been able to bargain with each other and work together. Upon these elements is thus thrust the supreme responsibility of projecting a structural fabric of law and fair play which will stand industrial tension in the years ahead.

In personnel, the new commission includes no captain of industry who is clearly the dominant figure in some great trade group, no labor leader of such widely-hailed personality and pervasive influence as Mitchell or Furruseth or Berger; and in the group representing the public, Professor Commons alone, in reach of industrial experience and mastery of some phase of the problem before the commission, would rank with Brandeis, or Mrs. Kelley, or Father Ryan. The opportunity is before the members, however, of making the field of industrial relations their own. For never has there been an exploration of that field, equipped with such potential resources of staff and scientific competence, or clothed with such powers to compel testimony. If through public hearings and bulletins, reports and drafted bills—they carry the public with them stage by stage to a common understanding which can be made the basis for constructive judgments, then their work will be instinct with the new statesmanship.

THE CHAIRMAN

They possess qualities which promise well for the inquiry if adequate team play is de-

veloped among the members. First of all, the chairmanship is in the hands of Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, who came into national notice last fall as chairman of the Social Service Committee of the Democratic campaign. He put kindling vigor into that work; but it has been to his work as attorney and one of the chief backers of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare that one turns in judging of the qualities he will bring to this new inquiry. For this Kansas City Board has brought into the concern of the city government many things which older communities leave to private agencies—has coördinated the philanthropic work of the town. In a public exhibition, at public expense, it laid bare the exact facts of the wages paid to the women workers of Kansas City, challenging the city to set a minimum standard of wages which would lift it head and shoulders above the other towns of the Mississippi Valley. A trenchant element, Mr. Walsh, who would give dynamic force to any commission, whether it sat on weather reports or the law's delays, and whose work as arbitrator in labor disputes in Missouri has gained him acquaintance with various industrial problems from the inside.

THE MEMBER FROM WISCONSIN

Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, is a close adviser to La Follette and is generally recognized as the economic statesman of the progressive movement of the Northwest. It was years ago that Professor Commons was regarded as too radical for a chair at Syracuse University, and the world has caught up with his preachments in the interval. He himself has forged ahead, not as a disturber, but as a builder. He has investigated the stockyards and coal mines, was an expert on the industrial commission of 1900, and in 1905 was secretary of the Immigration Department of the National Civic Federation; later a member of its committee on municipal ownership which toured Europe. He was a colleague of the Pittsburgh Survey, and it was his assistant, John Fitch, who brought the conditions of life and labor in the steel industry to the fore. But more important than all these, he has been the strong man on the Wisconsin Industrial Commission which for the first time in any American commonwealth, has applied the technique and general competence of our public service commissions to the industrial field. As an illustration of its methods, it hired the

safety engineer developed by one of the great trusts, as its own expert. More important in developing rules and methods of safety and sanitary engineering, it has enlisted the active semi-official coöperation of the employers, employees, and engineers of each of the distinctive occupational fields in Wisconsin.

A WOMAN ON THE COMMISSION

In appointing Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, President Wilson turned to a second campaign associate, for she was chairman of the Women's Committee of the Democratic party. These relationships should stand the commission in good stead when it comes to carrying the Administration and Congress with them in their recommendations. But it is as chairman of the "committee for welfare work of industrial employees" of the Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation that Mrs. Harriman has at once won the respect of trade-union leaders, and the interest and coöperation of the non-union cotton manufacturers of the South in the improvement of plant and community conditions. She is credited with having brought about the White House conference in July which led to the amendment of the Erdman Act, and to the arbitration of the demands of the conductors and trainmen.

ORGANIZED LABOR'S REPRESENTATIVES

In the labor group, Austin B. Garretson, president of the Order of Railway Conductors, has been one of the forces back of the Newlands bill amending the Erdman Act, and establishing its scheme of negotiation and arbitration as a permanent factor in interstate commerce. The great railroad brotherhoods are, of course, made up of the skilled men; so, too, the two other labor representatives, John B. Lennon and James O'Connell, treasurer and vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, represent the craft scheme of organization in the labor world. Neither of the latter was sent by his own union (the tailors and machinists) to the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor. Their friends say that this was because they have stood out against the inroads of socialism; their critics because they represent the older order of leaders who are not in sympathy with industrial organization, and with the causes around which the insurgent minority in the American Federation of Labor crystallizes. In the National Civic Federation Mr. O'Connell is regarded as a level-



PROFESSOR JOHN R. COMMONS, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

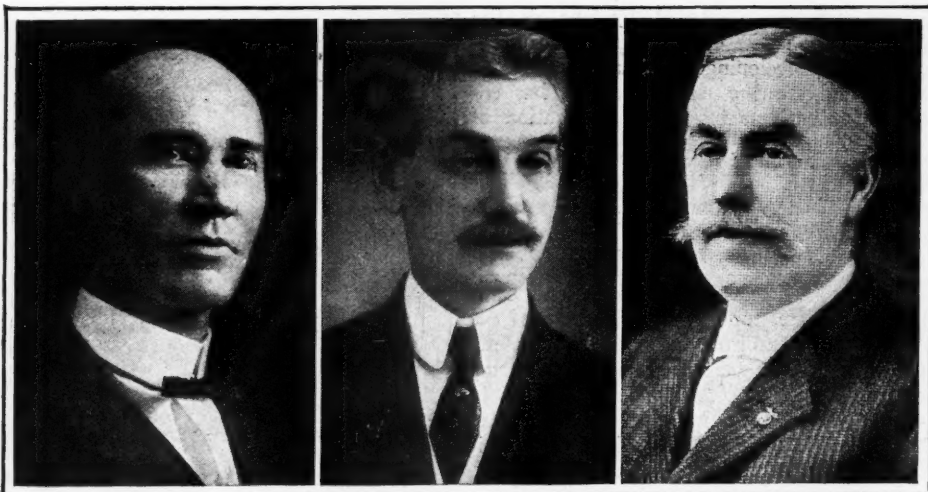
(Recognized as one of the leading constructive economists of the country, and named as a member of the new Commission on Industrial Relations)

headed, conservative and successful mediator, and his work during a big strike on the Southern Railway, when the whole South was torn up, is especially cited. In the final settlement he held rigorously to the position that the railroad should not be forced into breaking its contract with non-union men.

In his many years as executive of the International Union of Journeymen Tailors, Mr. Lennon espoused the cause of thousands of women workers. As treasurer of the American Federation of Labor he is considered one of the men instrumental in lifting their membership to over 2,000,000. He is a member of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and has for years been a fearless campaigner for the cause of temperance among labor men.

ON BEHALF OF THE EMPLOYERS

S. Thruston Ballard was, for many years, president of the Louisville Manufacturers' Association, and may be said to represent more than any other member the point of view of the non-union employer. As a member of the Louisville Manufacturers' Association he secured the support of that body for child-labor legislation in Kentucky;



AUSTIN B. GARRETSON
(President of the Order of Railway
Conductors)

JAMES O'CONNELL
(Vice-President of the American
Federation of Labor)

JOHN B. LENNON
(Treasurer of the American
Federation of Labor)

REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANIZED LABOR ON THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

and when, through complications, its support seemed to waver, he went it alone in support of reform. "A man with broad views, and a deep sense of the obligation that rests upon him as an employer," wrote a Louisville social worker of Mr. Ballard.

In Frederic A. Delano, receiver and former president of the Wabash Railroad, the commission will secure the railway executive who is generally recognized as ranking first in his intellectual grasp of the labor problem. As a young man in the engineering office of the Burlington Railroad, he personally went out and took a striker's place in that great and bitter struggle. Yet his relations with union leaders are to-day cordial, and few men have a more complete understanding of that complicated equilibrium between wages, stockholders' earnings, and passengers' fares, with which workmen, managers, and public commissions are wrestling in the railroad field. He was the choice of the railway presidents, and "as a representative of capital," writes a civic leader in Chicago, "he is fine and fair."

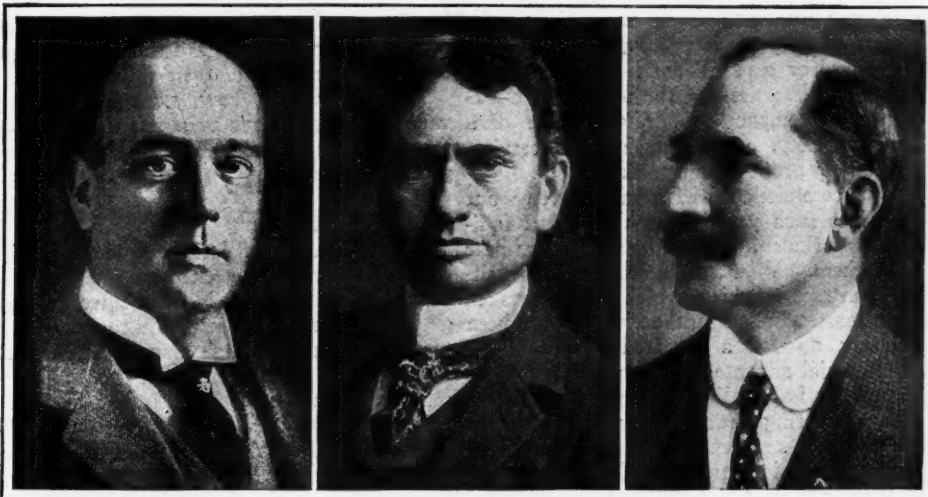
Harris Weinstock, of San Francisco, is a merchant, a partner of David Lubin, the man who has brought the nations of the world together into a new frontage on the problems of agriculture. Mr. Weinstock was a member of the American commission which has just returned from a study of coöperative production in Ireland, the home-loaning system of France, and other social inventions for building up agricultural com-

munities. His interests, however, are equally keen in the industrial field. He is a member of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation. He was appointed in 1908, by Governor Gillette, to investigate and report on labor legislation in Europe and Australia, and was recently selected by the manufacturers of California to go on the Minimum Wage Commission of that State. In 1912, he was appointed a special commissioner by Governor Johnson to investigate the disturbances over the I. W. W. at San Diego. This California method of approaching a labor crisis was in marked contrast to the failure of Iowa to get at the facts in Muscatine, of Massachusetts to get at those of Lawrence, and New Jersey those of Paterson. In his report—a remarkable document—Mr. Weinstock condemned the principles of the I. W. W., but scored with equal severity the tactics of the so-called "Vigilants."

THE FIELD OF WORK

Congress has provided \$100,000 for the first year's work of the Federal inquiry, but it was the general understanding while the bill was pending, that the commission should lay out a program on a three years' basis and could plan on expenditures up to \$500,000. Thus it can definitely set about one of the largest tasks of our generation in a large way.

No member of the committee which agitated for the legislation was named on the



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

FREDERIC A. DELANO
(Former President of the Wabash
Railroad)

S. THRUSTON BALLARD
(Former President of the Louisville
Manufacturers' Association)

HARRIS WEINSTOCK
(The San Francisco
merchant)

REPRESENTATIVES OF EMPLOYERS ON THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

commission, and as a volunteer body it is in a good position to follow up the work and coöperate in exploring the field which, in its conception, gave fire to the movement from the start.

What is this field? The committee specifically pointed out that it did not propose a reiteration of what had long been said on conciliation and arbitration; but an investigation from a newer point of view, based on the profound changes in our industrial life in recent years, such as will lead to a new frontage in men's minds. "The Federal Grand Juries may well concern themselves with those who have carried dynamite across state boundaries," ran the letter to the President. "We want light along a more crucial boundary line, the boundary line between industry and democracy." The same thought was put in one of the early pamphlets gotten out by the committee, which stated that we have yet to reckon with the mighty shifting of the economic foothold of the people, not only from agriculture to manufacture, but from self-employed, self-sufficient farm groups to the pay-rolls of the corporations in which industry has taken shape.

The old transportation bargain between the farmer and the carter was on pretty even terms. Higgling went on merrily. But when the carter became a railroad, and the railroad became a transcontinental line, we slowly waked up to the fact that the scrutiny

and sanction of public supervision was needed, else the bargain would be a lopsided one. Is that also needed in the industrial field?

For while we talk much of capital and labor—abstract terms; much of employer and employee—two men; in actual life the bargain is rather between workmen individually or workmen organized, and a corporation.

RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF UNORGANIZED WORKINGMEN

Take the unorganized man: How, as a matter of fact, is his labor bargain struck? Is it a bargain at all, or does he merely "take or reject"? What forces outside of his skill or output affect that bargain?—such forces as immigration, which has held the pay of common labor below the level of family subsistence; or social pressure over which neither employer nor employee can have control—like our impatient demand for Sunday linen, which keeps laundry women at work Friday at midnight, however much they or their employers may want to close up. Has the unorganized worker any recourse when some change in process brings in a new rate, or is he about where most of us were when the railroads trumped up on commutation tickets in the days before public service commissions? On the other hand, what legitimate powers of discipline has the modern employer, to hold his thou-

sand men into team work, where his predecessors of fifty years ago had to keep only a hundred or ten? What is the status—the rights and liberties—of the individual workman as a company tenant, a member of a benefit society, or an integer in a service-pension or profit-sharing scheme?

The commission will want to delve not only into such practises as they affect individual workmen, but into how our laws bear upon them. What, after all, is the unwritten contract of hire which the courts in their master-and-servant decisions have been building up for a hundred years? How far to social advantage can statute law go in shortening hours, lifting wages, and otherwise interfering with free contracts? What of workmen's compensation laws and the proposals of sickness and old-age insurance, as elements in the fiscal relation between employer and employee?

In other words, how, *without* organization, and depending on our present civil law, does the American workman fare? How his employer?

WHAT DOES ORGANIZATION DO FOR BOTH SIDES?

How, by comparison, point by point, does the organized workman fare? What rights has the unionized man in the non-unionized industries which the public with the full power of the state ought to enforce? The non-union man in the unionized industries? Under what organized forms do we find employers and employees dealing with each other; what their characteristics and tactics in times of industrial war—the entertainment committee, and spy system, intimidation and strike-breaking force? What secrets of industrial peace are known to those more fortunate trades with a decade-long experience of amicable collective bargaining?

How, in turn, is law thrown over the industrial bargain when it is thus practised collectively? Are our deputy sheriffs, city police, constabulary and militia peace officers or in actual practise are they allies to one party or the other? How are our old rights of free speech, free assembly, free domicile, standing up under the industrial stress? As Professor Seager points out with respect to the boycott, the injunction, and the Sherman law, the commission should "show that our present laws are unfair in their applications and recommend modifications, even constitutional modifications if necessary, or

let them defend these laws by reasoning so cogent that it will convince thoughtful wage-earners of the error of their views."

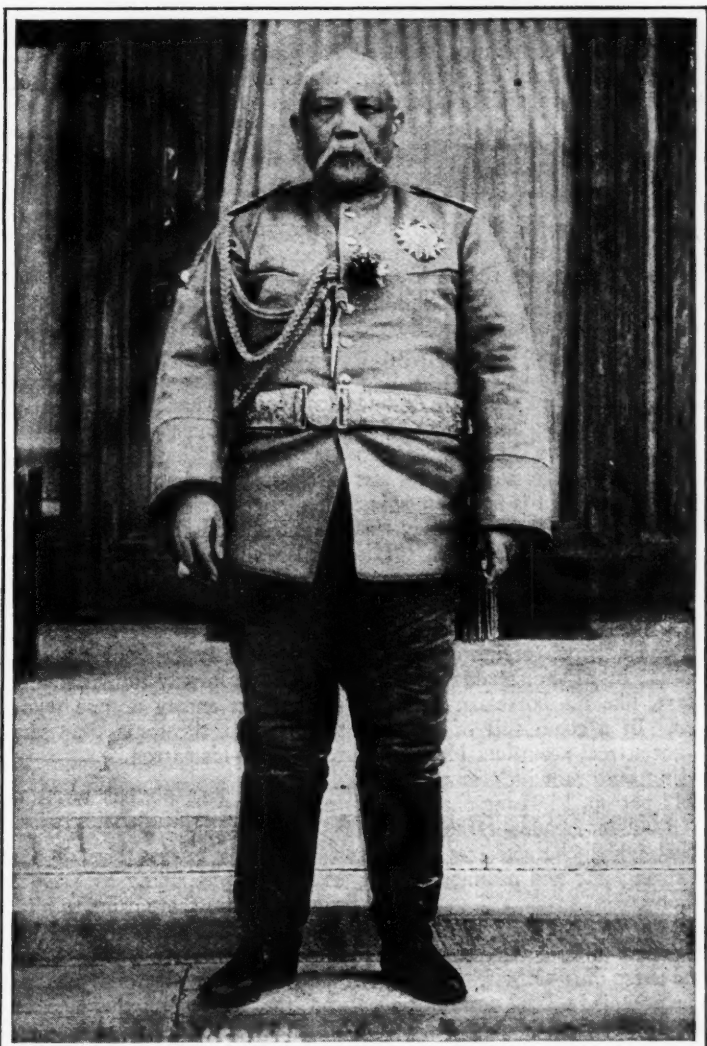
In other words, how, *with* organization and depending on our present civil law, does the American workman fare? How his employer?

THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Such a canvass of facts and views would bring the commission close to some of the causes of unrest—and, in due course, to suggestions for remedial action through voluntary agreement, through changes in law, or through the employment of the public's concern in industry. In this last field, indeed, lies some of the commission's most definite and broadest work—in overhauling our labor departments, and correlating the work between States; in developing greater publicity as to sources of employment, and terms of work; in standardizing public minimums as to safety, sanitation, hours, wages and other conditions; and in developing machinery for mediation and arbitration in adjusting the bargaining that goes on above those minimums. The amended Erdman Act is, of course, our most notable example in this last direction.

But the promptings to the commission reach deeper. Neither a system of bureaucratic supervision, nor machinery for settling conflicts, altogether carries conviction as a solution of the present situation. We are seeing the beginnings in this country of group-control in industry—of a framework of self-government which corresponds in the economic life somewhat to the structure of towns and communities in the civil life. Thus, in the garment trades in New York grievance and rate-making and sanitary boards act practically as trade legislatures with all the joint power of organized employers and organized employees to carry their rulings into effect. These are voluntary bodies. In the minimum wage boards provided for in Massachusetts, on which employers, employees and the public are to be represented; and in the safety committees organized by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, we have, similarly, the beginnings of public bodies closely related to well-defined fields of industrial production.

Underneath all these problems of economic structure lies one basic problem—the relations which we as a self-governing people bear to corporate forms of work.



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, New York

YUAN SHIH-KAI, MASTER OF CHINA

BY CARL CROW

IS Yuan Shih-kai, President of the Republic of China, a man who would be king?

In that brief query is summed up the question which is sending the armies of the South of China against the armies of the North, threatening to wreck the Flowery Republic, so recently established as a result of the most remarkable revolution the world has ever known. Rumors of a possible civil war have been current in China ever since the establishment of the Republic, and the basis for all of them is the fear of Yuan Shih-kai—

the fear that he will make his present dictatorship permanent and will found a new dynasty stronger than the old. Almost all who know the man, Chinese and foreigners alike, believe that he who has so easily gained the mastery of a country which has known so many dynasties, could with almost equal ease destroy the republican government of which he is head, put on the old monarchical trappings of the Manchus, and make himself the first of a new dynasty of Chinese emperors. "He is the Napoleon of China!" cry the

Chinese republicans of the South, amazed that under a republican form of government one man is able to secure and hold such a large measure of power.

"Why should I want to be a Napoleon when I might become another Washington?" replies Yuan.

Is he a Napoleon or a Washington? No one knows, and on the answer to the question depends much of China's future history.

On September 15, 1913, Yuan Shih-kai will celebrate his fifty-fifth birthday, though he does not look so old. He is a short, heavy man, active, but inclined to be corpulent, like most old Chinese. His eyes are small and keen, and, with advancing age, bulge from his head in a way that would be ludicrous in a man of less dignity. His complexion was once clear and swarthy, but is now somewhat sallow and discolored. His enemies say this is because of his dissolute life. His moustache, once black, is now gray and straggling and droops over his firm mouth in the approved Chinese fashion. Since he has cut his queue and adopted foreign clothing it is noticeable that he always stands with his feet wide apart, like the horseman he is, or like Napoleon. In a room full of Chinese, Yuan would not attract attention. He has not the commanding stature which gave prominence to his old patron, Li Hung-chang. He has not the peculiar facial formation with breadth of cheek which characterizes Sun Yat Sen, nor the strong jaw and military bearing of Li Yuan-hung.

If he lacks in distinguished physical appearance, Yuan makes up for it by the pomp with which he surrounds himself. For many years, when he occupied official position under the Manchus, he never went abroad without the company of four guards of unusual height, who were dressed in gorgeous costume. His chair-bearers were always men of striking appearance, and there was nothing in the catalogue of Chinese livery which was overlooked to add distinction to his coming and going. As his rank increased he increased the éclat with which he surrounded himself. Now, as the President of the Flowery Republic, streets are cleared before he ventures out, and he goes accompanied by many galloping horsemen.

WITHOUT A CLASSICAL EDUCATION

A Chinese critic who once denounced Yuan Shih-kai said, "In his youth his favorite pastimes were horse-riding and fencing, and he was not a man of education." That is a serious charge in China, for Yuan Shih-kai

has violated the precedents and ideals of centuries by climbing the rungs of official promotion without the knowledge of Chinese classics with which every Chinese official is supposed to be equipped. He cares little for books.

When, at the age of thirty, he was serving his country as "Resident" at the court of Seoul, an American diplomat described him as being "just a brutal, sensual, rollicking Chinaman." The diplomat added: "Nobody understands the meaning of the term arrogance who didn't know Yuan in those years. He was arrogance personified. Having vast powers, he frequently cut off the heads of Chinese gamblers and others, and I was an unwilling witness of some of these street-side pastimes of his. He would not let a physician save the life of one of his soldiers by amputating his arm, saying, 'of what good would a one-armed soldier be?' Yet he kept as a pensioner another soldier whose life was saved but who was useless as a trooper. He was altogether unscrupulous, but absolutely faithful and devoted to his patron and largely to his friends. He would sacrifice an enemy or one who stood in his way, but at the same time sacrifice himself readily for his patron."

MEETING THE BOXERS WITH CONVINCING ARGUMENTS

Yuan has always been a man of action. While he was acting as Governor of Shantung province there came to him a delegation representing the organization later known as the Boxers. They explained their ambitious plans to drive all foreigners out of China, and the virtues of the charms they wore, which would make them invulnerable to bullets. Governor Yuan expressed great interest in their plans, and especially in the efficacy of the charms. He was so curious about these that he asked them to dinner for a further discussion. At the conclusion of this meal Governor Yuan led his well-fed guests into an adjoining courtyard, where a squad of his soldiers was stationed. The Boxers with the magic charms were lined up on one side of the courtyard—the soldiers fired a volley and all the Boxers fell dead. That was Yuan Shih-kai's answer to their silly claims.

AS ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMER

It was while Yuan was Governor of Shantung, and later as Viceroy of Chihli, that he began to attract the attention of foreigners by his practical reform measures. He has never been out of China, except for his ten-year

stay at the retrograde court of Korea, and he knows no foreign language. Yet in the administration of the Viceroyalty of Chihli he beat the foreign-trained reformers at their own game, instituting reforms which still serve as a model to China. He gave Tientsin a good municipal government, and employed an American to develop an excellent school system. More than that, in the eyes of his Manchu lords, he reformed the army, saw that the men were drilled by foreigners, were regularly paid and well fed. Later when he was called to Peking to serve on a government board, his activities knew no departmental bounds, for he dominated everything with which he came in contact. He dictated the foreign policy, and ruled everything with a high hand. Foreign friends of China were not alarmed at this, for after the death of Li Hung-chang, Yuan was the only man around the decaying Manchu court who deserved to be called a statesman.

CHARGES OF ABSOLUTISM

But many Chinese scented danger in his rapid rise to power and formal charges were brought against him that he had "usurped all governmental power and was ruling like an absolute despot against whom nobody could achieve his purpose." About the time these charges were brought Yuan celebrated his birthday, and officials high and low crowded to his villa to offer him congratulations and gifts. When the guests assembled they were surprised to see among the gifts a pair of scrolls with the inscription: "May the Emperor live ten thousand years! May Your Excellency live ten thousand years!" The Chinese character which means "ten thousand years" could, by inviolate custom, be used only for the Emperor of China, and its use as a means of birthday greetings to Yuan was merely a sarcastic hint that he had helped the Empress Dowager, in 1898, to depose the Emperor because of ambitions to succeed him.

YUAN'S RHEUMATIC LEG

Not long after this the Empress Dowager and the Emperor died and the rule of China passed into hands less friendly to Yuan Shih-kai. The new rulers both feared and hated him and lost no time in getting rid of him as a government official. He was a man of too much prominence in China and abroad to be summarily dismissed and a typical Chinese subterfuge was adopted. An Imperial Edict recounted the high offices Yuan had filled, but regretfully stated that as he had

developed rheumatism in the leg he would be compelled to vacate all the official posts he then occupied and retire to private life. The fact that he was suffering from rheumatism was as much of a surprise to Yuan as to his friends. There is little doubt but that he would have been executed at this time but for the effect the Manchus feared such an act would have on China's foreign relations.

PREMIER AT PEKING

In disgrace, Yuan retired to his Honan farm and spent his time fishing and looking after the treatment of an invalid brother. It was not until three years later that the Manchu clan, menaced by the rapid spread of the Republican revolt, called on the one strong man of China for help. While the Republican troops were gathering in force at Wuchang, an Imperial Edict ordered Yuan to take up the duties of Viceroy at that place, recently vacated by Jui Cheng, who had fled to the safe quarters of the Shanghai foreign settlement. Three years of fishing had not dulled the edge of Yuan's wit, for he replied that he would be glad to do what he could, but the rheumatism in his leg was still troubling him. The Manchus, who had created this imaginary disease, thought a little more power might cure it, and successive edicts increased the power offered him until in a short time he was able to come to Peking as Premier, surrounded by his own picked troops, appareled and accoutered like an Eastern Sultan.

HIS DEALINGS WITH THE MANCHUS

He had come to Peking to save the tottering Manchu throne, and from the day he arrived he was master of the city. But he soon saw that he was engaged in a hopeless task. The Manchus had no money and the foreign bankers refused to loan them any. The Republicans were gaining victories everywhere and the Republican spirit was spreading to the remotest corners of the vast empire. Even Peking was threatened and machine guns guarded the approaches to the Imperial Palace. Obviously Yuan had allied himself with the losing side, and a less capable man would have gone down in the crash which was inevitable. This was the kind of a situation which called forth Yuan's best efforts.

According to popular belief, very soon after his arrival in Peking he turned his attention to getting rid of the Manchus, while openly professing his endeavors to save the throne for them. Little by little he induced

the Manchus to turn over their power to him, until soon he was not even pretending to act through the little Emperor, but issued orders in his own name. He sent his most trusted friend and adviser, Tang Shao-yi, to Shanghai to confer with the Republicans, and Tang, strangely enough, became converted to Republicanism as soon as he had met the Republican peace commissioner, Dr. Wu Ting-fang. Yuan openly denounced Tang for this change of faith, but loaded him with honors as soon as the Manchus had abdicated. Yuan's old generals, who would have followed him anywhere, made peevish demands on the throne for money. Many credit Yuan with inspiring these demands. When the Monarchical troops could easily have taken Wuchang from the Republicans, Yuan grew suddenly peaceful and agreed to an armistice.

Everything in China, apparently, turned Republican, but the Manchus, shut up behind the pink walls of the Forbidden City, and knowing little of what was going on outside, declined to give up the power they had so long enjoyed. With many of their powerful friends deserting them, they decided to make secure the services of Yuan by offering him the greatest honor the ruling clan could bestow on a Chinese, the title of Marquis. According to the sound reasoning of the Manchus, the acceptance of this title of nobility would make it impossible for Yuan Shih-kai to desert them for the Republican cause.

It was a critical situation for Yuan, but he grasped it and turned it to his own advantage with remarkable skill. He did not accept the title and thereby commit himself irrevocably to the monarchy. Instead, he used this as an opportunity to clinch all the arguments which had hitherto been suggested for the abdication of the throne. On the day following the receipt of the mandate his reply was published in the official *Peking Gazette*.

"As I knelt to receive your mandate," ran the courteous memorial, "I was sorely afraid. I recall that I have received hereditary favor from the Throne, and have been repeatedly accorded marks of its signal approbation." Then he goes on to recount the various offices he has filled during the revolutionary period, and says: "Grieving at my failure to redeem the situation, I have been unable to accomplish the smallest result after the lapse of months. The dynasty is crumbling into dust, and the people's love is in fragments like a potsherd. The body politic is smitten

with a murrain, and no cure for its distemper can be found. Like Shih-Ko-fa, the last Ming Commander-in-Chief, I am destitute of a fraction of recorded merit and my guilt knows no desert save death. I beg to recount to your Majesty the perplexities under which I have labored since taking office."

Then followed a most heart-rending account of his failure to accomplish anything.

In replying to the mandate, Yuan was careful to observe all the little niceties of Chinese court etiquette and take on himself all the blame for failure to stop the rapid spread of Republicanism, urging this as a reason why he could not accept the title of nobility. It was as fine a piece of Chinese humor as his reply that he could not take up the post of Viceroy at Wuchang because of the rheumatism in his leg.

HEAD OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The memorial drew no conclusions, but the one conclusion was very apparent, that all hope of saving the dynasty was gone. Immediately following this the Throne received a memorial signed by all but two of the Imperial generals, demanding that the Throne abdicate in favor of a Republic. This memorial was so similar to that written by Yuan as to lead to the conclusion that both were written by the same hand. In a few days Yuan attended a conference at the Palace, and when he left he had in his possession the famous edict of abdication which gave him full powers to organize a provisional Republican government. With that edict in his pocket he was the government.

At this time the Republican troops were massed in force along the Yangtze river, ready to begin a march on Peking. At Nanking was a well-established Republican government, with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President, and a provisional Assembly in which sat representatives of most of the Southern provinces. Yuan kept the pocket of his coat well buttoned over the abdication edict while he negotiated with the Nanking Republicans. Dr. Sun agreed to resign and the Nanking Assembly agreed to elect Yuan President, but they insisted on one condition, that Yuan show his friendly spirit and his acceptance of the Republican principles of the South by coming to Nanking to be inaugurated. To this he finally agreed, though with reluctance, for he knew that Nanking was filled with Cantonese who were waiting for an opportunity to kill him. Only a few weeks before he had narrowly escaped from a bomb which killed one of his guards and a carriage horse.

But he began ostentatiously to prepare for his trip, and the Nanking Republicans appointed a distinguished committee to go to Peking and escort him south. When the committee reached Peking it was loaded with honors. But on the night following its arrival a riot broke out among Yuan's favorite troops. There was a good deal of looting and firing of shops and a lot of shooting in the air, without any very serious results. The rioters paid particular attention to the quarters occupied by the Nanking delegates, and the latter climbed over the rear wall of their compound and sought refuge in the Y. M. C. A. The next day everything was comparatively quiet. Yuan professed great regret at what had happened and said he would take particular pains to see that it didn't happen again. The Nanking delegates agreed with him that, in view of the riot, it was necessary for him to remain in Peking and look after affairs there, so the trip to Nanking was abandoned. Surrounded by his own troops, Yuan was inaugurated in Peking, and the Nanking delegates returned south a chagrined and disappointed band. Needless to say, there have been no more riots in Peking, for, according to popular belief, the one riot was especially staged by Yuan.

THE DIAZ OF CHINA

Since the abdication of the Manchus, more than a year ago, Yuan has been the Government of China. He has talked a great deal about Republican principles, but he has ruled with a power as absolute as that exercised by the dethroned Manchus. No other ruler is more carefully guarded; no other ruler, either monarchical or republican, is surrounded with more of the pomp and circumstance of power than Yuan Shih-kai, the master of China.

A few months ago an American newspaper man, in an interview with him, said: "Some persons say you wish to become another Napoleon."

Yuan laughed and replied: "Yes, I know they say that, but they are wrong. I have taken Washington, not Napoleon, as my model. Who is the most admired figure in history? Is it Napoleon or any King or Emperor? No. It is Washington. What did Napoleon leave? A torn and exhausted

country. What did Washington create? A great and free nation."

In spite of this, the Southern provinces believe Yuan is following the example of Napoleon, and hence they have begun civil war against him. There is, in this fight between the South and the North of China, a striking similarity to the great war between the States which was waged here fifty years ago. The Southern provinces hold that they have inalienable rights of their own, which are threatened by the domination of Yuan Shih-kai. These rights, they claim, include the right to secede from the union of provinces which make up the Republic of China. Their statesmen, their politicians, their logicians and their sophists argue that it was the secession of the Southern provinces from the Monarchy of China which made the establishment of the Republic possible; hence, if the Southern provinces are not satisfied with the republic which Yuan Shih-kai has dominated, there is no reason why they should not again secede and set up a republic of their own. Against this argument the North (that is, Yuan Shih-kai) is arguing as our North argued more than fifty years ago. And, as in that time, it appears that school-book theories will again fail to settle the question, which can only be determined by the results of the battlefield.

And if Yuan Shih-kai, equipped with the money recently loaned by foreign bankers, should win—what then? Nearly all the leaders who took part in the Republican revolution are arrayed against him, just as they were when he was supporting the Monarchy. His success in the present contest would eliminate them from the affairs of China, and he would be in a position even stronger than that he now occupies.

Yuan recently said, in explaining his Republican convictions: "Now that the people have decided upon a Republic, we should give it a fair trial. It would be foolish to think of reverting to another form of government before doing our utmost to make the Republic a success."

He may decide that the present Southern rebellion is proof that a Republican form of government is not a success for China. In that event there will be little to prevent him from establishing himself as the head of a new dynasty.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE POPULAR MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS

MOST important among the contributions to the *Atlantic Monthly* for September is Professor John Bates Clark's discussion of the minimum wage, to which we give space on pages 375-6. This is followed by a characteristic essay, from the pen of Agnes Repplier, on "Our Loss of Nerve," which concludes with an emphatic condemnation of the crude and ill-considered efforts of the Illinois legislative vice-investigating committee to show the connection between the low wages of shop girls and the increasing prevalence of vice. Mr. John L. Hervey relates "The Tribulations of an Amateur Book Buyer." An informing article on "Living India" is contributed by Mr. H. Fielding-Hall. There are two articles on the growth of American cities; Mr. G. S. Dickerman presents the usual view of the impoverishment of the country, due to the general tendency toward city development, while Mr. Mark Jefferson, who is a decided optimist as regards the urban problem, sturdily contends that there has really been no exodus from country to city, and that, generally speaking, the country is gaining inhabitants at a fairly rapid rate. He is able to fortify his argument fairly well with figures from the last census. A country clergyman, the Rev. Joseph Woodbury Strout, writes appealingly and forcefully on the subject of "Financing the Rural Church." The second instalment of letters of William Vaughn Moody, the poet, contains much material of unusual interest.

In *McClure's* for September Ellen Terry describes "The Wonderful Russian Ballet." The remarkable public school system created at Gerry, Indiana, for the benefit of the children of field workers is graphically described by Burton J. Hendrick. War from the viewpoint of modern business is discussed in a well-informed article by Frederick Palmer. "How Your Writing Shows Your Character" is the title of an article by William Leslie French, who illustrates his text with autograph examples from varied sources.

In the August *Century* there is a character sketch of Romain Rolland, the author of "Jean-Christophe," by Alvan S. Sanborn.

Robert Hichens, author of "The Garden of Allah," describes "Stamboul, the City of Mosques." Pictures by Jules Guerin accompany the text. Mr. James D. Whelpley discusses Canada's "Trade Dependence and Political Independence," presenting fresh and pertinent statistics. Dr. William Elliot Griffis writes on "American Makers of the New Japan," and there are minor essays on "British Uncommunicativeness," by A. C. Benson; "The First Voyage Over," by Theodore Dreiser, and "Mind Versus Muscle in Golf," by Marshall Whitlatch.

Two travel articles form the leading illustrated features of the August *Harper's*, apart from stories—"Carlsbad, the Cosmopolitan," by Harrison Rhodes, and "On the Banks of the Jordan," by Stephen Graham. Apropos of the centennial celebration of the battle of Lake Erie, on the 10th of this month, the historian Lossing's account of that famous naval victory is reprinted in this number of *Harper's*.

In *Munsey's* for August Judson C. Welliver summarizes "The Triumph of the South" as embodied in the return to national power of the Democratic party, which has naturally meant the accession to places of prominence in national affairs of great numbers of Southern statesmen. The great Catskill aqueduct, an engineering triumph second only to the building of the Panama Canal, is described by Edward Hungerford.

An article in the August *Forum* by Frank Chester Pease on "The I. W. W. and Revolution" is summarized on another page of this REVIEW. Other important topics in this number of the *Forum* are: "The Jewish Problem in America," treated by Florence Kiper; "Is Applied Christianity Scientific?" by Richard Dana Skinner; "The Import of the Superficial," by B. Russell Herts, and "The Turkish Drama," by Helen McAfee. Ernest E. Boyd writes on "Bernard Shaw and the French Critics."

The *North American Review* for August has interesting articles by Dr. A. F. Zahm on "A National Aeronautical Laboratory"; by Thomas F. Ryan on "Why I Bought the Equitable"; and by Chester Lloyd Jones on "Bananas and Diplomacy."

WHERE DO THE INDIANS COME FROM?

THE results of a great deal of historical investigation, as well as some more or less unfounded speculation, has appeared in print recently regarding the presumed Old World origin of the American Indian. The Red Man of the American continents has been forcibly related to the Welsh, the Egyptians, the Phœnicians and the lost ten tribes of Israel. A writer in the monthly magazine, *Red Man*, "printed by the Indians of many tribes," at the United States Indian School at Carlisle, Pa., has collected all the historical data on the subject and given it in an article in a recent number of this periodical.

A scientific study of the Indian suggests, says this writer (Franz Boaz), that the American race "must have been separated from the rest of the Old World for a very long period, and that their civilization has grown up in the Western hemisphere." There is no evidence as to the geological time in which this separation occurred, although "it seems fairly certain that the American race is closely related to the races of Northeastern Asia, and that it must have lived in Asia for a very long time." It seems now quite certain that the American Indian "reached our continent at least at the time when, after the retreat of the glaciers connection with Asia was first reestablished. This must have been many thousand years ago."

"It is not necessary to assume," continues this writer, "that all Americans arrived on our continent at the same time."

In all probability there was a slow filtering through of people from the west; that is to say, from Asia, eastward. It seems also very plausible that the movements of people were not in one direction only, but that a re-peopling of Siberia by American tribes occurred in the course of these events.

The people who came to our shores were in all probability hunters and fishermen, who had the art of using fire, and who may have been accompanied by the domesticated dog. The art of domesticating other animals and the cultivation of plants, as well as the use of pottery, were in all probability unknown.

As to the belief that the arts of the American Indian are related to those of the Old World, a belief based largely on the supposed similarity between Old World arts and those the Spaniards found in Mexico, Central America and Peru, Mr. Boaz says:

It is easy to show that the similarities were simply those similarities which are common to all forms of social life that develop in more densely



inhabited areas, while the differences between the two are fundamental.

If the Central Americans had learned their arts from the Egyptians or other Mediterranean people, as has often been claimed, we should suppose that the essential basis of their life would also show a certain relationship. As a matter of fact, we find that the plants on which they lived and the industries which they had developed seem quite independent in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. The excavations made in many parts of Europe show that the agriculture of Europe developed at a very early time, before the use of metals was known, and that wheat and barley were the two grains on which man subsisted. At a very early time cattle were domesticated. One feature, particularly, differentiates the development of European and Mediterranean agriculture from that of the rest of the world. In many regions man had learned to cultivate plants, but the cultivation was always carried on by means of his hands. The seeds were placed in holes made with a digging-stick, and the ground was prepared either with a digging-stick alone or sometimes with the help of a simple hoe made of stone, bone, or wood. Nowhere, however, had man learned to employ the services of animals to further extend his agriculture. Only in Europe did the employment of animals and the use of the plow, which was worked with the help of animals, lead to the culture of fields in our sense of the term. In all other parts of the world agriculture remained similar to our cultivation of the garden. This development in Europe was still further helped by the use of the wheel, the invention of which goes back into early antiquity, and which led to the invention of the cart for purposes of transportation.

It is remarkable that none of these inventions was shared in by the Indians of even the most civilized tribes of America. The plants cultivated by them differed from the plants cultivated by the people of the Old World. Neither wheat and barley nor the later plants, such as millet, lentils, peas, were found here; but, instead of that, the agriculture of the Indian centers around the use of Indian corn, or maize, beans, and squashes. Indian corn is a descendant of a wild grass growing in the mountains of Central America and Mexico, and therefore must have been first cultivated in that area. The domestication of animals, their use for agricultural purposes, and the invention of the wheel were not found in America, and set off Indian agriculture sharply from that of the Old World.

If nothing else were known, that would be enough to show clearly that there cannot be any early relationship between American civilization and Old World civilization; but other points can be brought forward which will corroborate our conclusion. The Indians did know the use of precious metals, and the invention of bronze had been made in Central America and among the most advanced people of South America; but the uses to which the metal was put were very limited, and there is nothing that connects the types of bronze implements found in America with the bronze implements of any period of the Old World.

So far as the actual utensils are concerned, bronze has always been quite insignificant in America, while for a long time a great variety of utensils were made of bronze in Europe, northern Africa, and Asia.

It has also been claimed that there is a certain similarity in architecture, attention having been called particularly to the pyramids of Central America and those of Egypt. These, however, are quite different in character. The American pyramid is, on the whole, a substructure for a building, generally a temple, while the Egyptian pyramid is a tomb, quite distinct in plan and construction.

It is perhaps one of the most remarkable facts that while in Europe stone architecture did not develop anywhere until after metals had been in full use, while it may even be said that in western and northern Europe stone architecture did not develop until after it had been taught to the people of Europe by the Romans, the Indians developed a high architectural art before any metal tools were used by them.

"We must conclude," says this writer, that "in its origin and growth, American culture has been essentially indigenous and practically uninfluenced by the advances made in the Old World."

HOW ALASKA'S RELIGIOUS NEEDS ARE SUPPLIED

WRITING, recently, in the special "Alaska Number" of the *Spirit of Missions* (New York), Archdeacon Stuck, of the Diocese of Alaska, who, by the way, recently achieved international fame by his ascent of Mt. McKinley, said:

Whenever a man talks about Alaska he means his Alaska, and that is one of the reasons why so many contradictory and wholly irreconcilable things are said about Alaska. When a Nome man talks about Alaska he means Prince William Sound and the Cook Inlet country. When a Juneau man talks about Alaska he means the southeastern coast. So when I talk about Alaska I mean the interior, which is the lion's share, though the other Alaskas would each make a great state.

Perhaps a more definite idea of the vastness of this "Great Country," as the Indians call Alaska, may be realized by placing Ketchikan (the most southeasterly mission of the Diocese of Alaska) upon the city of Savannah, Georgia. Then Point Hope, the most northwesterly mission, would fall on the center of North Dakota; while the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands would reach to the coast of California.

Just across the border, on the Canadian side, is another vast missionary field, known

as the Diocese of the Yukon. These two dioceses, American and Anglican, are the largest in the world, and, in many respects, unique.

As illustrating this, we find two men, bishops of the Church, the one an American, the Right Reverend Peter Trimble Rowe, and the other an Anglican, the Right Reverend Isaac O. Stringer, their fields of work separated only by the international boundary line between the United States and the British territories, living and working in loneliness and hardship.

Some idea of the vastness of Bishop Stringer's diocese may be gained from the fact that somewhat over a year ago the Bishop started from Dawson, the seat of the Episcopal residence, on a trip to Fort McPherson, some 300 miles to the north. To get there it was necessary to travel 5,000 miles by way of steamer, rail, stage and canoe.

The long distances, lack of means of transportation and communication, and the severe climate of this vast Arctic region make great demands upon physical courage and endurance. Everywhere, to quote an extract from Bishop Rowe's diary:

only the great white desolation, silent, awful, broken by the wail of wolves or the cracking of ice, as though strange spirits were all about you. The days were strange as the nights. Close by the river crept the spruce, and through this there trotted, doglike, packs of wolves, invisible but none the less real, as their howlings indicated.

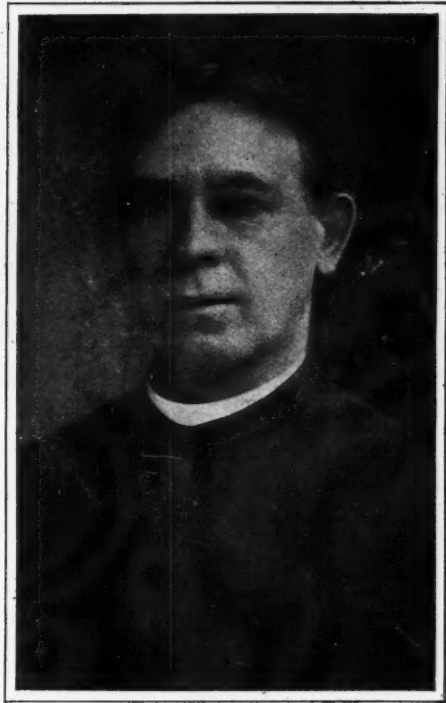
It requires, too, executive and administrative ability of the highest order on the part of these overseers, since by reason of the long distances and uncertain periods of communication each year, work must be planned months, and even years, in advance.

Sitka is the see city of the Alaska diocese, and from here Bishop Rowe makes his trips into the interior and the north, traveling nearly eleven months in every year, covering more than 20,000 miles, and holding an average of one hundred services.

Two qualities are essential for traveling in this great country, grit and an instinct to find one's way, and both these Bishop Stringer and Bishop Rowe possess in a remarkable degree. Blinding storms and blizzards, bitter cold (the thermometer sometimes registering 65 degrees below zero), frozen fingers and feet, bad ice and open water, short rations (on one occasion neither Bishop Rowe nor his dogs had any food for three days; while Bishop Stringer subsisted for the same length of time only on his own footgear), physical injury, lost trail, howling wolves, treacherous natives,—all these perils and difficulties must be encountered and overcome year after year.

Both of these valiant soldiers of the Cross are discharging their duty, not alone to the Church, but, through the Church, to their respective countries as well, for the Church occupies an enviable position in the moral and spiritual development of this northwest country. It ministers alike to body, mind and soul of the Eskimo, the Indian, and the white man. Medically, industrially, intellectually, socially and religiously they are being helped and uplifted.

The Eskimos are somewhat slow to deal with, but once they are persuaded, they are steadfast. Before Bishop Stringer's consecration, he labored as priest among the Eskimos at Kitligagzooit, near the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and on Herschel Island, the northernmost inhabited point of the British dominions—a bleak, desolate, treeless island, ice-bound for nine months of the year. Traders in heathen countries are not, as a rule, enthusiastic in their praise of converts to Christianity, yet a Hudson Bay trader, referring to these people, writes:



RT. REV. PETER TRIMBLE ROWE, (AMERICAN)
MISSIONARY BISHOP OF ALASKA

Before they were Christians they would, one and all, steal everything they could lay their hands on, yet now I can absolutely trust the tribe of Eskimos converted to Christianity by Bishop Stringer, of the Yukon.

A missionary who has resided on Herschel Island continuously for the past five years furnishes the following notes of the customs of the people:

"The customs of the Eskimos have undergone a change. For example, the temporary loan or exchange of wives, which was once common, has ceased. Infanticide, also once common among all the tribes, is no longer practised. Care of old people is much greater than in former times. Until lately, when a man died, all his personal property was buried with him, as no one wanted a dead man's goods. This fear has passed, and the goods go to the heirs. Tattooing and cutting the lips are being abandoned. Murders and thefts are much rarer than formerly."

It will be remembered that nearly two years ago the discovery was reported, by the leaders of an Anglo-American expedition to the Arctic seas, of a large number of Eskimos in the Coppermine region, from 700 to



RT. REV. ISAAC I. STRINGER, (CANADIAN) BISHOP OF THE YUKON, IN THE CENTER, AT THE FUNERAL OF A CHRISTIAN INDIAN

1000 miles east of the Mackenzie River, who had never seen the face of a white man. In July, 1912, under the direction of Bishop Stringer, a missionary, with twelve Christian Eskimos, chosen from two hundred volunteers, set out in a sailboat for a two-year trip, to try to reach and evangelize these people.

Referring to the Peel Indians, Bishop Stringer, in one of his addresses to the Synod of his diocese, said:

The Indians were anxious and ready to learn, and not only accepted Christianity, but lived on the principles and precepts of Christ. It is a strange commentary on our Christian civilization to say that the weaker nation, under the influence of the stronger, has sometimes degenerated on the advent of white men in large numbers. When the evil influence of the white man has not to any extent been felt, as for instance among the Peel River Indians, we find a people living at least as consistent a Christian life as is generally seen in an ordinary white community.

Seventy-five per cent. of this tribe can read, and several of their number have taken orders in the Church of England. This would seem to give the lie to the oft-repeated assertion that "the only good Indian is a dead one."

While missionaries, sent out by the Church Missionary Society of England, were at work in the Yukon thirty-five years before the discovery of the Klondyke mines (in 1896) brought that region to the world's attention, the American Church did not put missionaries in the Alaskan field till 1886.

The work among the white inhabitants of Alaska, of whom there are 35,000, is practical and effective. There are well-equipped hospitals at Ketchikan, Valdez, Fairbanks, and Iditeros, and several dispensaries which

minister to the needs of the body, patients sometimes being brought by sled a distance of two hundred or more miles, with oft-times not a human habitation along the way. The intellectual need is supplied in large measure by the George C. Thomas Memorial Library, at Fairbanks, which, besides being the only place, except saloons and poolrooms, where men may congregate, sends out reading matter of all kinds over a large territory to the prospectors and miners. A more recent development of

the work was the establishment, in 1908, of the "Red Dragon" Club in Cordova, a rather unusual combination of reading-room, club-room and church. Here, during the week, reading and writing materials, a piano and pool-table keep the miners and railroad men (Cordova being the terminal of the line to the interior constructed by the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate) from less wholesome amusements, while on Sunday it serves as a church.

Concerning the results of the quarter century's work in the Yukon Valley, a veteran missionary, the Reverend John W. Chapman, writing in the same issue of the *Spirit of Missions*, declares:

In some ways intercourse with the whites has done our people good. They are better laborers, understand better the character of a contract, are cleaner and less superstitious—especially the younger generation—and are enabled to live in far greater comfort than formerly. But when so much is said, it remains true that the native standard of morals is a low one, and that in the native system of religion there was nothing which held out the slightest hope that it would ever become any better than it was. Every gain in this respect is due to the influence of Christianity, and the gains are not a few.

But it is for the native's welfare that the Bishop is especially concerned. For the Indians exclusively two hospitals have been established, two industrial and eight day schools are maintained, and two sawmills are operated. The Bishop favors a reservation system, his aim being to have the principles of sanitation taught, thereby permanently improving the sanitary conditions, in order to check the mortality among the natives from tuberculosis, which has become a scourge among them. In their efforts to live

more like the white man, the Indians are losing much of their own proper racial heritage, to their great detriment. Out of 400 Indians at Sitka 40 died last year of tuberculosis, and at another station 50 per cent. of the people had died during the preceding year of the same dread disease.

Last year Bishop Rowe went to Washington and placed before Congress the serious condition of the people and the need of remedial laws. As a result of his pleadings, an act of "Home Rule" for Alaska was passed, and an appropriation was asked for to meet the needs of the situation.

Speaking in the House of Representatives upon the bill to provide for a legislative assembly for the Territory of Alaska, the Hon. William W. Wedemeyer, Member of Congress from Michigan, said:

No man understands Alaska and its problems better than Bishop Rowe, who, for sixteen years or more, has ministered to the people of that remote territory. There is not time here to speak of his good work. . . . It is only the truth to say, however, that the progress that has been made in Alaska would have been utterly impossible without the unselfish efforts of missionaries . . . who have toiled unrelentingly and under the hardest possible conditions.

AN ARGENTINE OPINION OF THE UNITED STATES

AN open letter from Señor Manuel Ugarte, the celebrated Argentinian essayist and political writer, to President Wilson, published in the current number of *Cuba Contemporánea*, is designed to call the attention, not only of the President, but of the American people as well, to the growing attitude of distrust toward our fellow-countrymen in some parts of Latin America, and to indicate the proximate causes of this

regrettable state of things. Of this he writes:

For many years the United States, while realizing within its own limits the highest expression of the ideal of liberty attained in our era, has undertaken to defend, in Latin America, a spirit diametrically opposed to its own principles and laws. Individuals and financial corporations of this nation, with but few exceptions, seem to have entered certain countries, especially those of Central America and those bordering on the Caribbean Sea, with the aim to prevent civil law and to violate international law. Indeed, they have gone so far, at times, as to forget the most elementary rules of conduct. Certain republics have thus become fields for the display of evil instincts whose manifestation in the United States was checked by legal penalties and by public opinion. To break the plighted word, to make light of contracts, to menace and to trample on the rights of individuals, to bring in contraband goods, to bribe officials, to excite discord—all these have been, according to circumstances, quite usual proceedings on the part of those who, because of the greatness of their nation, ought to cherish a high conception of individual responsibility.

The local governments, often intimidated, have not generally dared to prosecute the delinquents, either because they felt the menace of the overwhelming power of Anglo-Saxon America, or else because they themselves were bound by engagements they did not care to confess. However, as a result of these proceedings the United States has gradually become the most unpopular of nations among us. A latent hostility animates the masses of the people, and, in some countries, such as Colombia, Ecuador, etc., the American citizen is often induced to practise the humiliating deception of passing himself off as an Englishman, in order to escape the ill will of those with whom he has to deal.

Señor Ugarte insists that this is not due to a lack of hospitality among Latin-Americans, for, in the case of Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Belgians, etc., no such



MANUEL UGARTE, THE ARGENTINIAN ESSAYIST AND NOVELIST

(Who has been saying some vigorous things about North American influence in South America)

feeling is manifested, and he believes that if the American people as a whole can be brought to appreciate the real causes of the growing ill-feeling, they will be even harder judges of the offenders than the Latin-Americans themselves. But at present a chief cause of complaint is the absence of a spirit of impartiality among American officials. Of this Señor Ugarte says:

What both surprises and disquiets us in Latin America is the too visible support given by the official representatives of the United States to those who are often not of American birth, or who have become naturalized merely to secure American protection. It is enough that any one of them should claim that his interests have been prejudiced, for the consuls and the ministers to sustain him, and even for the calling in of warships and soldiers, without any preliminary investigation as to the basis of the complaint, or any inquiry as to the arguments favoring one or the other of the parties. I know that all great nations regard it as a duty to protect their citizens in foreign lands, but above this duty should reign a sense of equity which prohibits injustice, and a national pride that would refuse to make the nation an accomplice in the faults of its sons.

The system now pursued may favor the development of business, the prosperity of certain

groups of financiers, or even, perhaps, the prestige of the protecting nation; but the good repute of the United States has suffered as much from it as has the independence of the Latin-American republics, for in making a national question of the errors committed by individuals, in fomenting evil passions, in abusing its greatness, the United States has lost in our esteem, and has appeared to be rather a source of corruption than an aid for us in our efforts for progress.

The letter concludes with an eloquent appeal for a better understanding and for the removal of the obstacles to the development and progress of the Latin-American states that have been interposed by the rapacity of those whose sole aim is to enrich themselves regardless of consequences. While the program of conciliation proposed by Señor Ugarte, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, Filipino independence, a strict *laissez-faire* policy in Mexico, etc., is much too radical and is hardly likely to find favor either with our Government or with public opinion, some of his assertions are unfortunately true and his appeal is calculated to do good, if in reading it we make due allowance for his not unnatural partisanship.

THE BALKAN COMPLICATIONS AND RUSSIA'S WAR PREPARATIONS

WHILE in Berlin what was spoken of as the self-emancipation of the Balkan States from the tutelage of the Great Powers was regarded with a certain degree of complacency, in Russia it has caused something approaching consternation. The way in which Athens and Belgrade completely ignored the offer of the Russian Government to mediate between them and Sofia seriously disconcerted both the foreign office at St. Petersburg and the press. Some of the papers openly expressed their hostility. The *Novoe Vremya* (the reactionary organ of St. Petersburg) said:

Russia is not only a great power, but the greatest empire in the world. Is it possible that the voice of Russia should be disregarded at Sofia, Belgrade, and Athens? The Russian Empire is powerful enough to demand the immediate cessation of the savage and fratricidal Balkan War. It depends on the energy of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs to save the Balkan States. Russia must not neglect her allies in the Balkans because her duty is not yet decided on.

The well-known Professor Kowalewski has published an article in the *Ryetch* in which he violently attacks Rumania for invading Bulgaria. In concluding it he says:

It is time that Russia should lift her voice against new invasions. In these days there are ways of settling international conflicts without having recourse to the sword. Partisans of peace and humanity will do well to declare at once in favor of the intervention assumed by the most powerful Slavonic empire.

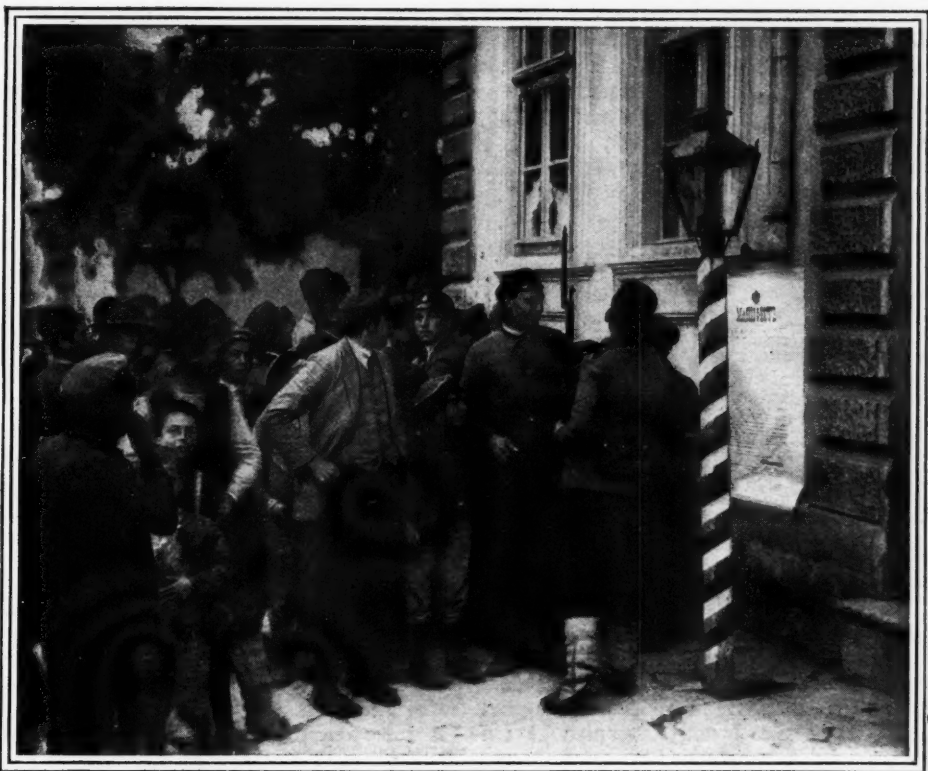
The *Bircheviya Vyedomosti* says:

Servia and Greece should hasten to follow the example of Bulgaria and accept the intervention of Russia. This intervention, assumed by her in accord with France, should meet with a sympathetic welcome at Belgrade and at Athens, otherwise the consequences will be fatal.

Prince Meshtchersky, in his paper, the *Grashdanin*, expresses a remarkable opinion. He says:

The best thing would be if the powers interested should partition the Balkans among them. Up to the present the Balkan War has had one appreciable result—it has ended the Slav question in Russia.

At Athens the reoccupation of Adrianople by the Turks seems to be regarded with equanimity if not satisfaction. M. Levides, the first delegate of the Greek Mission to Constantinople and Director General of the



STREET CROWDS IN SOFIA, THE BULGARIAN CAPITAL, ANXIOUSLY WAITING FOR WAR NEWS FROM THE FRONT

foreign office at Athens, on his arrival at Constantinople on July 22, gave an interview to one of the local papers in which he expressed the view that Greece would rather see Adrianople in the hands of the Turks than of the Bulgarians, just as it would rather have Turkey for a neighbor than Bulgaria, and he believed the powers regarded the retaking of Adrianople as a settled fact. The Turkish note on the subject which was sent to all the European governments was expected at Rome and Paris to cause the powers to take joint action to compel the Turkish Government to observe the line of frontier Enos-Midia agreed on at the London Conference of Ambassadors, but the complete change in the situation caused by the disruption of the Balkan Alliance and the attitude of the powers composing the Triple Alliance brought matters to a standstill.

The Turkish Government, impelled by public feeling and for military and political reasons that will probably be made plain later, seized the opportunity presented to recover a portion of the lost territory and with it the prestige of the army, so badly shattered

in the war. It also found justification in the change of feeling in Europe, brought about by the atrocities committed by the Bulgarian armies in all the territory covered by their operations. Turkish papers like the *Tanine*, *Tasviri-Efkia* and *Terdjuman* cleverly took advantage of these circumstances and urged the government to disregard the risk of the complications which Sir Edward Grey, speaking in the British House of Commons, feared might supervene if the Turkish army should advance beyond the Enos-Midia line.

The entry of Rumania on the scene also added to the disturbance of the equilibrium in the Balkans, and was an additional factor in the decision taken at Constantinople to push forward beyond the line fixed in London. Just to what purpose Rumania has intervened with such firmness and force in the last phase of the Balkan upheaval is not yet very clear, nor at whose instigation. It is on record at the Sublime Porte that before the war of 1877 an alliance between Rumania and Turkey was on the point of being concluded and would have been but



SERVIAN RESERVISTS AT NISH READY TO JOIN THEIR COMMANDS

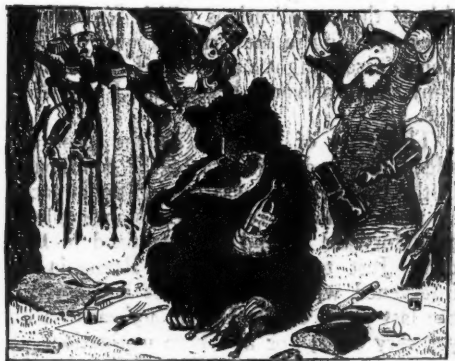
for the reactionary element in the Turkish Council of State. There is also the standing fact that in Rumania there is a strong anti-Hellenic sentiment and that it was only a short time before the outbreak of the Balkan War that diplomatic relations were resumed between the Greek and Rumanian governments after a long period of estrangement, during which Greek interests in Rumania of a personal and commercial character suffered severely.

It would not, therefore, be surprising if the result of the present complications in the Balkans should be the coming together of Rumania and Bulgaria to check the encroachment of the Greeks much to the eastward of Salonica. Whatever their individual or joint attitude toward the Turk may be, it is

certain that neither wishes to see the Greeks within striking distance of Constantinople, or in a position to control the Dardanelles from the land side on the north; and most certainly Russia will be found supporting an anti-Hellenic policy unless a great change has come over the spirit that prevailed at St. Petersburg in 1878 at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of San Stefano.

That the Russian Government is seriously facing the contingency of action of some kind in connection with the Balkan and Turkish complications is understood both in Vienna and Berlin. At the outbreak of the Balkan War, Russian military preparations on the German and Austro-Hungarian frontiers had already been made on an extensive scale, as also in the Caucasus. In all the western fortresses there was intense activity. Grodno has been transformed into a stronghold of the first class to play an important part in a conflict with Germany. To defend the front towards Austrian Galicia, a large number of provisional works were constructed, and fortifications improved on the Gulf of Finland. In German opinion Russia is no longer, from a military point of view, a Colossus with feet of clay, and she is in a position to employ more rapidly than before her numerous military forces.

The troops of the military districts of Vilna, Kiev, and Warsaw, comprising fourteen army corps, almost the half of the effective strength of the Russian army, are already, in peace time, on a full war footing, needing only six days for mobilization. Those of the St. Petersburg, Moscow,



IF THE BALKAN ALLIES (?) ARE MUCH LONGER IN MAKING PEACE AMONG THEMSELVES THE BEAR (RUSSIA) WILL GET ALL THE MEAT
From Kikeriki (Vienna)

Odessa, and Kazan districts can be ready to be moved into the field in from twelve to fourteen days, and the whole western army of Russia could be on the frontiers within a month of the first day of mobilization. Among the general staffs of the countries bordering on Russia it used to be calculated that it would be possible to obtain important successes between the twelfth and thirtieth days of the Russian mobilization, seeing that their armies could be mobilized more rapidly, and that the armies of Vilna, Warsaw, and Kiev could be beaten before those of the other districts could come into line. That probability is now considered to be much diminished, and will very likely disappear in the coming years.

As a matter of fact the Chief of the Russian General Staff has just declared in the Duma that it is the intention of the Minister of War to take steps permitting of the concentration of the whole force of the Russian army on the western frontier with the least possible delay. The German military proj-

ects recently noted were the reply of Germany to these formidable armaments of Russia, as are also the projects for the increase of the Austro-Hungarian army.

To check the Greek and Servian policies in Macedonia a permanent committee has been formed in London with the object of having Macedonia created an autonomous state, something after the manner of Albania. The authors of that committee believe that only in this way can a durable peace be assured in the Balkans. It is not very certain from whence sprang this idea, but from the tenor of the manifesto issued by the committee, whose headquarters are in London, it would appear to be intended to create a kind of buffer state which would preserve the balance in the Balkans with Salonica as its capital, and eventually exclude the influences that might lead to the partition of the Balkans advocated in the *Grashdanin*. But in any case it is becoming more clear that the last and final phase of the Balkan question has not yet been reached.

THE MODERNNESS OF BULGARIAN LITERATURE

ONE of the foremost living authorities on Slavonic literature is recognized to be a Swede, Alfred Jensen, who contributes an interesting survey of contemporary Bulgarian poetry to a recent number of *Ord och Bild* (Stockholm). Through his own excellent translations, many of the best specimens of that poetry are now available in Swedish, but, as he points out, in the rest of Europe and here in America there are very few people who even realize the existence of a Bulgarian literature.

The growth of this literature has been almost identical with the growth of national feeling and with the gradual emergence of the people from "beneath the yoke." The first Bulgarian public school was established at Gabrova in 1835; the first collections of Bulgarian folk-songs were published at Pesh in 1842, and during the next few years three Bulgarian newspapers were established—in Smyrna, Leipzig and Constantinople. The country itself was "under the yoke," and it was only with the first glimmer of liberty that a written literature in the modern sense began to develop.

While the liberators of the Serbs were nothing but warriors, says Mr. Jensen, the Bulgarian "haiduks" were poets as well—they aroused their countrymen by their songs

as well as by their actions. Thus the first poets of the new Bulgaria were editors, school-teachers, statesmen, freebooters, and the literary history of the nation becomes almost inseparable from its political history. From this combination the earliest poetry of Bulgaria derived a certain spirit and tone of journalistic dilettantism, but it gained also naturalness and spontaneity. Contemporaneous and parallel Serbian and Croatian writers show much greater command of form, and more erudition, while, on the other hand, the Bulgarians display a striking originality that suggests much more of genuine personality.

The greatest of those pioneers was Petka Slavejkov, poet, statesman and martyr. Much as he had to suffer at the hands of the Turks during his earlier years, he suffered as much from his own countrymen after they had gained a first measure of liberty. In all he was arrested thirty-seven times for his efforts to instil a true democratic spirit into the institutions of the young nation. And when he died in 1895 his reason had for some time been clouded. His principal object as a writer was to counteract and exterminate the Greek influence which had until then held the national spirit in fetters. To accomplish this he wrote songs in the vernacular

and translated also a large amount of Russian and Serbian poetry.

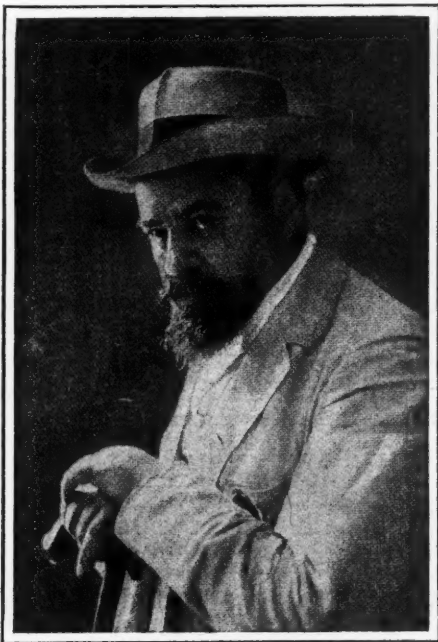
But the first man to raise his country's literature to a high artistic level was Ivan Vazov, poet, novelist, and dramatist. His best known work is the novel "Beneath the Yoke," which has been translated into half a

humor is so calm and irresistible that even the Bulgarians themselves have been able to join in the laugh provoked by it.

Petka Todorov, born in 1879—almost all these new men are young men—is generally counted the most successful of Bulgaria's writers for the stage. His fairy dramas, "The Church Builders," "The Mountain Fairy," and "The Haiduk Strachil," display an unusually vivid and telling imagination, while they get depth from the somewhat sad, but always idealistic philosophy which mirrors the author's own personality. Todorov has also written a series of masterly sketches of life among the Bulgarian peasants, and his prose is held the finest yet produced by any man of his own race.

The poet who is credited with giving Bulgaria its first lyrical literature colored by the racial psychology of his people is Peju Javorov, now stage manager of the new national theatre at Sofia. Once a guerrilla fighter himself, he has come to feel that the bloody victories of the haiduks cannot be an end in themselves. He feels that they must lead on to something still greater, to spiritual victories of no less glorious nature, and he feels that these victories will also come in time—but for the moment he, and the people that speaks through him, has grown tired with endless struggling. That was before the last war—or wars—had begun: how much more will such a feeling of utter fatigue come to assert itself when peace once more returns?

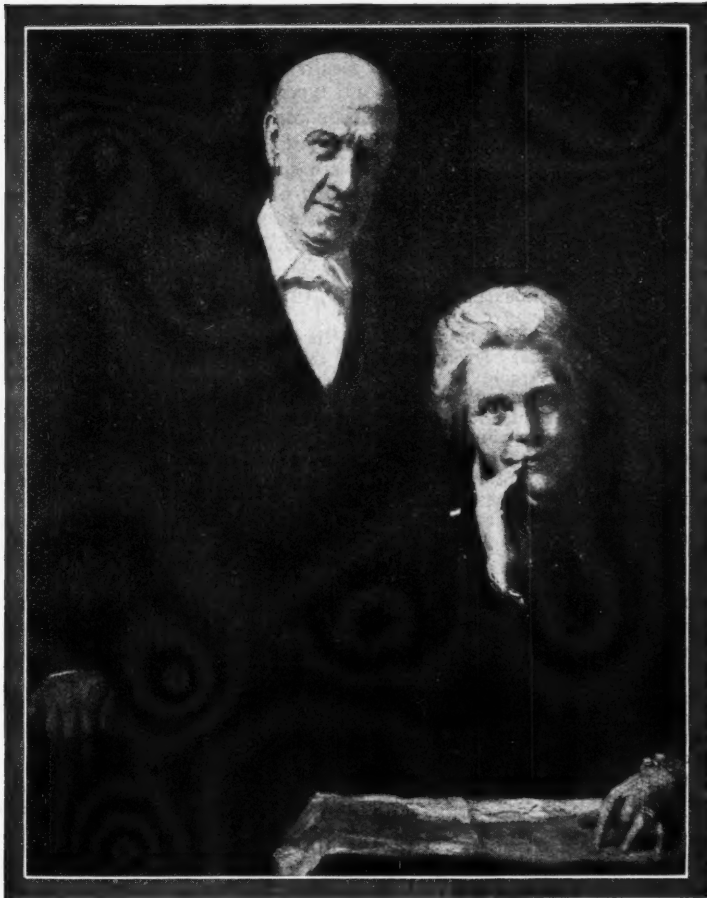
A name by many counted greater than any other in Bulgarian literature is that of Pentjo Slavejkov (1866-1912), a son of the Petka Slavejkov already referred to. He brought the new poetry in a living relationship to European culture, while at the same time preserving jealously its national characteristics. None has sung more effectively than he in honor of the martyr-pioneers, but none has more ruthlessly lashed the social and political shortcomings of his own nation either. Lyrically there is nothing in his production that has higher value or greater appeal than his poetic cycle "Koledari," so named after the wandering folk bards who at Christmas time go from place to place singing "songs of well-wishing," for which they are paid with small gifts. But in other respects the great epic "The Song of the Blood" ranks still higher. Its central hero is no human being, but the genius of the race personified by "Father Balkan"—the spirit of the vast, forestclad mountain chain that has become inseparably connected with the life of the nation.



PENTJO SLAVEJKOV, THE EMINENT BULGARIAN POET, WHO DIED LAST YEAR

dozen European languages, including English. It embodies a vivid picture of national life during the great revolutionary year 1876. Even more of an artist Vazov has shown himself in his several collections of verse: "Itala," "Macedonian Sonnets," and "Slivnitsa." To these may be added a number of historical dramas and some thoroughly modern sketches from the Bohemian life which bitter necessity forced on the political leaders of the country during the stirring 70's.

But Vazov knows little about racial psychology, after all—and probably doesn't care much for it either (he is still living and writing). The first realist who dared to picture his people as it is, without any idealistic gilding, was Aleko Konstantinov, a charming humorist, who was murdered in 1897. His main work is the novel "Baj Ganju," describing the visit of a typical Bulgarian boor to the exhibition at Prag. But merciless as the veracity of that story is, its



CANON AND MRS. BARNETT

From the painting presented to Toynbee Hall by the residents on the settlement's twenty-fifth anniversary

THE FOUNDER OF TOYNBEE HALL

ENGLAND is distinctly the poorer by the death, which occurred on June 17th, of the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Canon and Sub-Dean of Westminster Abbey, and late Canon of Bristol. The English Church loses a distinguished servant, but England loses far more in the death of one of its most noted sociologists.

Distinguished as was Canon Barnett's contribution to the annals of church history, he will always be immortal as the founder and for many years warden of Toynbee Hall, the famous social settlement, called by Mr. Robert A. Woods, of Boston, "The Archtype of the Settlement."

Remarkable have been the tributes to this "Enthusier of Men," as *Public Opinion* aptly

terms him, in every section of the English press, of the most divergent types, and in our own press, too, for Samuel Barnett's work is well known in America, and no American sociologist but has been inspired by his life-work.

The *Times* (London) thus tells in biographical form the story of Canon Barnett and his association with Toynbee Hall:

Samuel Augustus Barnett was born in Bristol in 1844, received his first education privately, then entered Wadham College, Oxford. Mr. Barnett was in 1872 appointed Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, a post which he was to hold twenty-two years. The next year he married Miss Henrietta Rowland, who had worked with the late Miss Octavia Hill, and of this union, singularly perfect in every way, it is enough to say that Mrs. Bar-

nnett's name has been as well known as her husband's through her devotion to the same causes and her effective participation in his social work. A few years after the Barnetts settled at St. Jude's the movement begun about 1865 by Edward Denison and carried on by a number of scattered workers from the universities, who had been set in motion by Jowett, began to take a more systematic shape. Barnett came frequently to Oxford to urge the young men on the point of leaving to give some regular portion of their time to a businesslike study of the condition of the poor, especially in the East End of London. His sincerity and his cool, practical way of looking at things impressed many of the more serious undergraduates, and none more than a young commoner of Balliol, known to be about the ablest man of his year, but so delicate in health that he was unable to read for honors. This was Arnold Toynbee, a man of ideas, and full of that "burning love of his fellow men" which Maine attributes to Rousseau.

Early in the eighties young Toynbee died, and very soon a number of very influential friends founded Toynbee Hall in his memory. With scarcely adequate funds and quite inadequate buildings close to St. Jude's Church and vicarage, the new institution was started, in 1834, having Mr. Barnett as its first warden.

In the same journal a colleague deals very beautifully with the personal side of his character and speaks as follows:

From the vicarage of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, beside the crowded highway of Commercial Street, and from his little study in the Warden's Lodge looking out across the peaceful quadrangle of Toynbee Hall, there went forth constantly a quiet stream of helpful thought and guidance, touching the lives of men where most they needed it, transforming with a divine alchemy their lead to gold.

To that little room of his came young men fresh from college, to talk over their dreams with him, who could dream with them and yet help them to turn something of the stuff of dreams into reality. There came, too, older men from the world without, men of most diverse views and creeds, grappling with difficult problems, or in need of counsel or suggestion. There they found sympathy, a keen welcome for new ideas, the friendly constructive criticism of a wisdom strong in wide and rich experience, and the penetrating vision of a great teacher of men, who had the prophet's instinct for reading the signs of the times. With all his deep sympathy Canon Barnett had that rarer gift of making this felt, and yet being able to speak the unwelcome necessary truth. Sometimes, in some brief suggestive phrase or a question interjected as if by chance, he would put the other side, gently revealing the weak place of some well-intentioned but mistaken plan; or, where the thing lay deeper, he knew, like a skilled surgeon of the soul, how to touch with some short, clear word the hidden fault which must lead to failure.

Canon Barnett was an enthusiastic Liberal in politics, and, as we may well imagine, if the "Tory" *Times* speaks so enthusiastically of the Liberal organs are even more moved. Thus the staid but liberal *Nation* says: "All

kinds of intellects and characters were attracted to Toynbee Hall; and very different results came out of its crucible. Statesmen of all types, administrators, County Councillors, economists, social investigators, workers, enthusiasts, even a poet or two. None, I think, were quite uninfluenced in their lives and habits of thought; some, the most generous and susceptible, were deeply and permanently affected."

The *New Statesman*, a very radical paper, thus pays tribute:

His influence, both on his contemporaries and on the younger generations that have grown up in his forty years of service, is one long and overwhelming testimony to the power of spiritual genius, even in our present materialist world. Canon Barnett's sturdy radicalism, it is interesting to note, was a transition from conventional Toryism wrought by a visit to the United States just after the Civil War. It was a good thing for humanity that this visit took place before his appointment to St. Jude's, Whitechapel, termed by the Bishop when offering it, "the worst in my diocese."

Mr. Robert A. Woods, Director of South End House, Boston, was a resident of Toynbee Hall, and he writes sympathetic and interesting articles in the Boston *Transcript* and in *Survey*. He appraised the Canon's services to sociological work in America, by his description already quoted of Toynbee Hall as the "Archtype of the Settlement," and for this alone, regarding the tremendous import of the settlement in this country, he will ever be remembered in the States.

Mr. Woods thus concludes his appreciation in *Survey*:

In so far as our American settlements keep the spirit sound and true, they are indebted to him not only as founder, but as guide and counsellor. He did not withhold the gentle rebuke for what at times he feared were our vain works and deadly doing nor the injunction to follow the larger things of essential faith and fellowship. A few of those now becoming elders in our settlement service will always count it one of the supreme privileges of their calling to have been included in the circle of his disciples.

Another disciple who knew him personally, an Englishman, now a clergyman in the United States, Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim, writes from an entirely different point of view in *Jewish Charities*. He depicts the Canon's remarkable catholicity very vividly in describing his attitude towards the Jews, and it must be remembered Toynbee Hall is situated in the English Ghetto. A striking paragraph in this appreciation is as follows:

Because he did not believe in the cult of the non-sectarian, which is dogmatically irreligious,

but because the true spirit of religion dominated the man and his work, Toynbee Hall was at one and the same time the center for the propagation of broad church principles, of Nonconformist missions, of ethical conceptions, of Orthodox Judaism, and the hospitable birthplace of Reform Judaism in England, where it for a long time was the scene of the activities of the East End efforts of the Jewish Religious Union.

The same writer, Rabbi Sternheim, writes more elaborately in the *American Citizen* and in this article thus describes the basic

settlement ideal, by no means a general concept as applied to American settlements:

It is an effort to mitigate the sin of social schism which is the curse of our great cities—the residential separation of the classes.

Properly does the *Times* say of Samuel A. Barnett:

In helping to bring about improvements on reasoned lines, he was one of the foremost exponents that our times have known.

HÖFFDING, DENMARK'S FOREMOST THINKER

THE recently celebrated seventieth birthday anniversary of Dr. Harald Höffding, for many years professor of philosophy at the University of Copenhagen, has caused the Scandinavian magazines to give a great deal of attention to his splendid life-work, and one of them, *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), devotes the better part of an entire issue to this subject. No sensational accident, like a Nobel prize, has as yet called the attention of the world at large to the part played by this unassuming thinker in the formation of our own day's mental make-up. And yet he has for years been more widely known, not only in academic circles, but among thinking men and women of all classes and all nations, than was either Bergson or Eucken before their recent abrupt emergence into the lime-light.

George Brandes tells in *Tilskueren* how, whenever on a visit to Paris, he used to be questioned about the work and personality of a certain "Effdenghe," alleged to be "a very big Dane," and how it took him a long time to figure out that this mythical figure was no one but Professor Höffding. "We cannot wonder that Höffding is known to and appreciated by the Germans," adds the great critic, "but that he has been so completely successful in France also must be held a valid proof of his universality." A pupil of Höffding's tells in the same issue how all her overtures were rebuffed by a Polish girl student at Berlin until the latter learned of her nationality and cried out: "Oh, then you must know Höffding? There is no living man I would rather know than him!" And in Toynbee Hall and similar London institutions the same writer always found Höffding's "Ethics" near the top of the list of books wanted as gifts. Here in America Höffding's "Psychology" and his

wonderful "History of Modern Philosophy" have long been used in most of the universities.

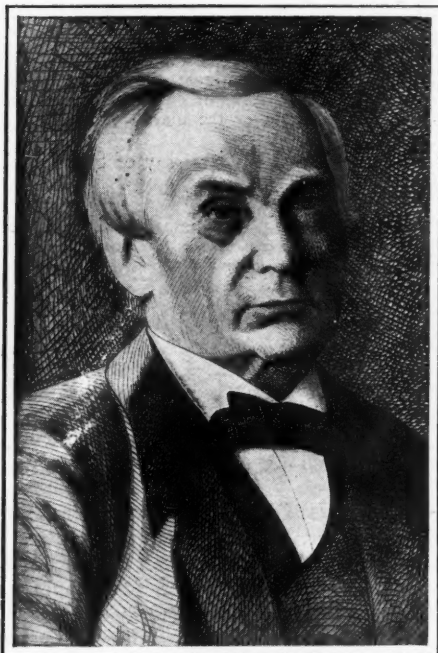
Professor Höffding himself gives, in *Tilskueren*, a brief autobiographical "Retrospect," in which he reviews not only his own development but that of contemporary thought. He was born into the Comtist current of the early nineteenth century. To the last he has felt, and feels, related to that current. But from the first he has also stood critical toward it, and particularly toward its materialistic exaggerations.

"It seems to me," he says—and his mind turns toward just those questions which the true Comtist wants to brush aside once for all as hopeless: immortality, the nature and purpose of life, etc.—

that there exists a series of problems which every new generation, if it be intellectually awake, must attack on the basis of its own conditionings and experiences. Truth is an exalted ideal, in relation to which one generation after the other will find ever new work to do. The time of systems has gone by. Of course, there must be "system" in our thinking. For the word system means at bottom "what fits together," and that is something our thoughts must do after all. But such a fitting-together on a basis settled for all time is now out of the question. "While we are building our systems," said a great Danish philosopher long ago, "experience is moving steadily ahead—and there is no guarantee whatever that our new observations will fit in with the system we thought so well established."

"While at work on my psychology," writes Professor Höffding further,

I became more and more convinced that the relationship between thought and observation is not a rational one: that, in a word, our thought can never exhaust the possibility of observation. But to me this stands only for another expression of the fact that truth is an ideal which we can only approach. This should not take away the ardor



PROF. HARALD HÖFFDING, THE CELEBRATED DANISH PHILOSOPHER

of work. On the contrary, this ardor should be lessened by the possibility of reaching the goal once for all—for then one would have to ask: What is there left to do?

Ferdinand Tönnies, one of Germany's greatest living sociologists, says of Höffding in the same magazine, that "he is one of the leading thinkers of our own age; as academic teacher, a burning light within the Scandinavian countries; and as a philosophical writer, an influence that has made itself felt all over the world." To Höffding, as Tönnies sees him, the highest thought of social ethics is that of a "human empire—a social organism composed of richly and harmoniously developed personalities." And more and more the character of social theory has become accentuated in his "Ethics" as he has carried on the never-ending work of revision. To him the ethics of the individual must be subordinated to that of the social body. And yet he strives to assert the just demands of individualism—of the principle which insists on a free personality as opposed to the one that insists on the supreme authority of the race.

"In Höffding's personality," Professor Tönnies says finally, "sincerity and honesty are on a level with keen thinking and solid knowledge. And because the style mirrors the man, all the writings of Höffding are characterized by a combination of qualities commonly supposed to be mutually exclusive: lucidity and profundity. And one feels that he is a thinker who 'lives' his own philosophy."

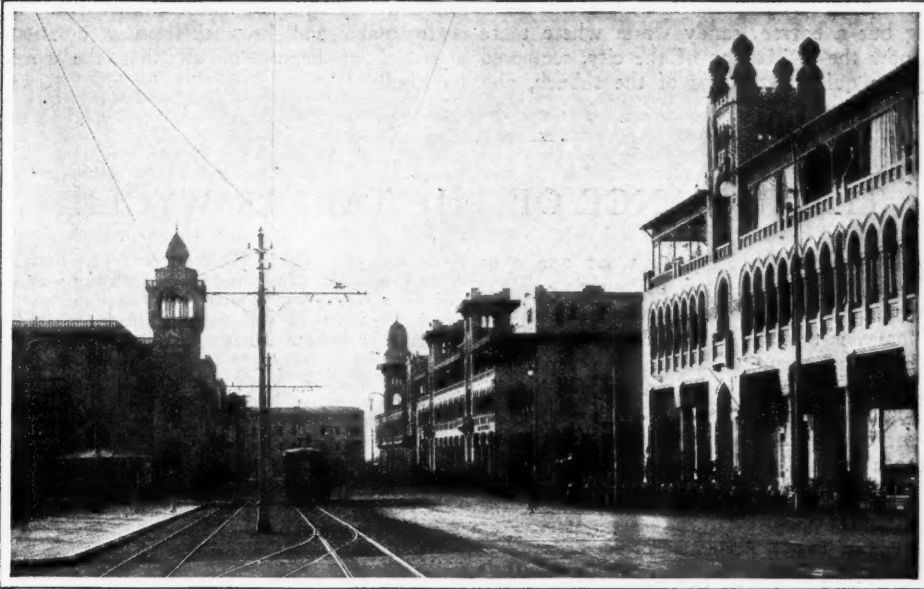
HELIOPOLIS, "A SUBURBAN MIRACLE"

THOSE of our readers who have been accustomed to think of the rapid growth of metropolitan suburbs as distinctively an American and European development will be not a little surprised to learn that one of the most notable achievements in this direction within the past decade has taken place in the commuter's zone, so to speak, of Cairo, Egypt. His astonishment may increase when he learns that the site of this successful promotion is that of the ancient city known as "the Eye of the Sun," "the Fountain of the Sun," and "the Center of the Firmament," that seat of civilization which was supposed to have passed out of existence fifty centuries ago.

But even as the Phoenix was thought to have risen from its ashes on this very spot, so the sacred city itself came to life again in 1905 in the form of a suburb of modern Cairo. In that year Baron Empain, having discovered that the air of ancient Heliopolis

was unusually pure, especially when compared with the dust-choked atmosphere of Cairo, that it had an unusual supply of pure water, that the view was excellent, and believing that the historic associations would add charm to the place as a residential center, conceived the scheme of transforming this patch of desert into a modern town. During the past eight years the Baron has expended millions of dollars on the city site, has laid out broad, shaded avenues and sporting grounds, built handsome villas, and a hotel which is said to rival in magnificence and luxury the finest hotels of Paris, London and New York.

Cairo and Heliopolis are connected by train and trolley, and also by a very fast electric flyer which covers the distance in twelve minutes. These and other distinctive features of this remarkable Egyptian suburb are described by Sydney A. Clark in the second of a series of articles dealing with the sub-



"MAIN STREET" OF HELIOPOLIS—LESS THAN FORTY-FIVE MINUTES FROM CAIRO'S BROADWAY

urban development of foreign cities, appearing in *Suburban Life* (New York) for August. In accounting for the phenomenal growth of the place (it seems that, in spite of the great building activity, backed up by ample capital, it has been difficult to keep the supply of villas and flats up to the demand), Mr. Clark says:

Everything in Heliopolis was planned and executed with an eye to the future, with an eye to permanence, and to artistic beauty and sanitation, money being apparently a point of small importance. Although the whole suburb is practically under the complete authority of a private company, its government, if one may call it such, is honest and efficient and almost altruistic—qualities which provoke a sorrowful comparison when we think of certain municipal councils and their ways. No city in Egypt, not even Cairo, has any drainage system, yet the private company of Heliopolis has installed one quite as modern and as sanitary as any in America. It seems almost paradoxical to associate with dirty, picturesque Egypt the thought of broad avenues actually as clean and well kept as the streets of Germany's capital, yet the paradox has become an actual fact in Heliopolis.

It would sound too improbable, and savor almost of bribery, to pretend to claim that the company is actuated largely by altruistic motives in all its actions. Doubtless the phenomenal success of Heliopolis depends largely upon the sagacity and foresight of the founders, who acted on the principle that a suburb, spacious and clean and healthy, near a city where these qualities were unknown, would prove an irresistible attraction and, in the end, a paying business proposition. They have used every inducement possible

to draw from the city not only the rich, but those of more moderate means and even the better class of laboring men. For the well-to-do, palatial villas prove irresistible bait. To those in modest circumstances attractive cottages are offered, and to the workmen cheap but not ugly houses and flats. All these are offered at prices which are as tempting as the buildings themselves.

The architecture of the entire suburb is unique and appropriate, Arabesque colonnades and arches, and Moorish windows being the predominating features. All the houses are built of stone, for the company does not intend to have its work destroyed by fire.

Few modern suburbs anywhere in the world have the historic and scenic associations which cluster around Heliopolis. To the west extends the Nile valley, and toward the southwest the twin spires of the citadel of Cairo may be discerned in the distance, and still farther away the dim outlines of the pyramids of Ghizeh. The region boasts of a venerable sycamore tree marking the spot where the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus rested on their flight into Egypt. There is a well named for Moses, and the exact spot is shown on the Nile where Pharaoh's daughter pulled him out of the bulrushes! Far more authentic, however, are the tombs of the Caliphs and Mamelukes, and many other monuments of Egypt's past.

In conclusion, Mr. Clark well says that the Heliopolis of to-day is "a marvelous exponent of what human ingenuity and energy, backed by a plenteous exchequer, can

accomplish. Nine years ago there was nothing but a barren, sandy waste where there is now the civilization of the city, tempered by the quiet restfulness of the suburb, and guarded by those whose first aim it is to make and keep their new creation a model of beauty in all that the word implies."

THE ROMANCE OF THE TARTAR WYCLIF

AN astonishing story of what one man did on the steppes of Siberia, of the stupendous religious labors of a Russian missionary, is told vividly by a Russian writer, Alexei Yakovlev, in *The East and the West*.

According to this writer, Nicolai Ivanovitch Ilminsky (1822-1891) was one of the most remarkable sons of Russia in the nineteenth century.

The son of a priest, he was born in Penza, and educated in the ecclesiastical academy of Kazan; he studied Tartar, Arabic, and other Eastern languages, and traveled for about twenty-two years in Arabia, Asia Minor, and Egypt. He was Professor of Eastern Languages at the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy and at Kazan University. As early as 1847 he started his life-work, the Christian mission among the different tribes who inhabit the east of European Russia and Siberia; this work, begun on the most modest scale, proves to be from year to year one of the most creative and inspiring achievements of Russian life.

The Russian Church was at that time (1865) becoming alarmed at the proselytizing inroads of the Mohammedans among the peasants of east Russia. Ilminsky's talents and devotion were very welcome. Says Mr. Yakovlev:

Nicolai Ivanovitch was a rare specimen of the human race. Gifted with wonderful philological capacities, which allowed him with amazing quickness and facility to master foreign languages, he was a very fine scholar, standing on the very pinnacle of the European philological science. The Arabs in Arabia, where he lived in a tent and led with them a nomadic life, could not discern from his elocution and his management of the Arabian that he was a foreigner. The Tartars of Kazan would not believe he was a Russian, and not a born Tartar who had renounced his origin.

Ilminsky, however, was more than learned. He was mild, affable, truly good, untiring in his missionary zeal. Moreover, he had exceptionally good health, and a cheerful disposition. With the help of a native Tartar, a baptized water-carrier named Vassili Timofee, Ilminsky proceeded to translate the Scriptures into the Tartar tongue.

In 1863 he began the literary propaganda of his new ideas in Russian ecclesiastical reviews. The

point was hit. Since this year, now just half a century ago, the cause started by Ilminsky was a victorious triumph of human mind over the enormous difficulties of this delicate affair, in itself rendered still more delicate by the conditions of Russian life. Guarded, protected, and led by Ilminsky till his death (December 27, 1891), supported by scores, hundreds, thousands, and now scores of thousands, of his followers, his cause is growing and spreading out with an untiring success in conquering for Christendom and Russian culture millions of men and women of different tribes, and in amalgamating them with the Russian people.

When the work was completed, in the summer of 1864, Timofee went to the villages of the baptized Tartars.

He preached to them the Gospel and read to them the newly prepared translations of the Old Testament, and behold! people who ten years before avoided all religious conversations and turned aside with the utmost mistrust at every attempt to approach them, now gathered in crowds to listen to the reading in their vernacular language, and were moved and wept while listening to and understanding the sublime truths of Christian lore.

Timofee banded them in choirs to sing Christian hymns, and this improvised singing made a wonderful impression on them. The movement took on like fire in drought.

"It is wonderful to observe these children," says one of the observers of the school, "gathered from different lonely and remote villages, dressed like beggars, with poor overcoats with holes in them and miserable shoes of soaked last; how they praise the majesty of God in their dialect. In the village, some boy pupil of the school is sitting upon a log and reading to the crowd the Holy Scripture. The dancing ceases, the singers become silent—all are still. The slow reading goes on. Pressing themselves together, afraid to lose one word, with tears in their eyes and heaving breasts, the Tartars listen to the Word of God in their own language.

"The women do not wish to go home, though torn away by their little children. The reading or narration continues for two, or even three, hours. After it is finished the deep silence is broken. Observations are heard: 'How wonderful, how charming it is to listen to one's own language; and in the church we understand nothing.' 'How thankful we are that you have it written for us in our own dialect. . . . 'These boys will know everything concerning the faith; through them it will be known to others, because they read and speak our own dialect. Such learning is good.'"

The most difficult of all victories was his—the victory over the human heart and mind. The method was established theoretically and practically; it proved to be fully sufficient. The Kazan School for the baptized Tartars served as a laboratory of the ideas and proceedings, as an experiment and a successful encouragement. The method spread far and wide. The Kazan Seminary for the preparation of schoolmasters for all the tribes of the east of Russia was established according to the same principles. Its first director till his death was Ilminsky.

The movement spread out from Kazan along the Volga, passed the Ural, and found followers all over Siberia. It would be difficult in this sketch to enumerate the services rendered, the battles won, the thousands of schools established, and thousands of books edited in the languages of different tribes up to now. During the life of Ilminsky it was his loving and devoted hand which ruled the whole affair; it was he who served as a connecting link between workers of different blood, social and geographical position.

Invisible threads were drawn from the remotest village to his working-room; he upheld incessant correspondence with thousands of his direct pupils and of his pupils' pupils with an untiring zeal and utmost delicacy.

Through the modest office of Ilminsky passed thousands of visitors from the remotest corners of Cheremiss and Chucash Woods; of the Kirghise and Bashkir Steppes; from Altai and the Transbaikalian; simple men, too, in sheepskin and shoes of soaked last, who were drawn to the mild old man in their search for light and instruction. It often happened that they spent whole nights, sleeping on the floor of his cabinet, having no other accommodation than the room of their worshipped apostle.

And in many a humble priest's or schoolmaster's house one may find a lithograph representing the beautiful features of the grand old man, an emblem of his soul and name, being a bond between millions of his followers, as his heart and mind were a connecting link of the cause during his life.

COÖPERATION IN ITALY

THE rapid increase in the cost of living, more than offsetting the increase in wages and small salaries, notable as this has been, is felt as keenly in Italy as in other countries of the Old or New World. That this state of things is aggravated by the lack of direct contact between producer and consumer has long been realized in Italy, and many plans have been suggested to remedy this condition, coöperative associations of one kind or another having been established in many places with a varying degree of success.

A plan which seems to have much in its favor has been worked out by Signor E. Branzoli-Zappi in the *Revista Internazionale*. This contemplates the founding of co-operative associations of producers, who are to provide the requisite capital, which need not be large, each receiving so many shares in proportion to the amount of his individual contribution. Of former experiences in this direction and of his own proposed solution of the problem the writer speaks in detail. We summarize his conclusions.

The coöperative associations for the sale of products which have so far been established in Italy have all had a different scope and a different organization. For the greater part they were of special character, that is, devoted to the sale of a single product, or products of a single class. So far, there has been no coöperative association for the sale of agricultural products as a whole, directly to the consumer, but the combina-

tion of a number of good and responsible cultivators would solve the problem greatly to the consumer's advantage.

Each of the associated producers would send his products to the coöperative dépôt; these are stored and the owner receives a certificate of deposit of the merchandise with which he is credited at the market price of the place whence the consignment has been made. To this price, the share of the producer, are to be added the costs of transportation, octroi, etc., and a certain fixed percentage for general expenses, interest, etc., the resulting sum becoming the selling price to the consumer. When the merchandise has been sold, always for cash, the coöperative association forwards the amount agreed upon to the producer. At the end of the year the net profits, after deducting a reserve fund, are distributed partly as interest on the shares of the company and partly to the producers in the form of a percentage on the price already paid them for their products. Thus the associated producers have not only sold their produce at the average wholesale price of their region, a price they might not otherwise have been able to secure, but they have had no trouble with middlemen and no anxiety or fears as to receipts. Moreover, they would have a modest interest from the shares they have purchased to constitute a necessary working capital for the undertaking, and, besides, a percentage on the original price received, representing a further small profit on the sale. The consumers, on their part, have obtained goods directly from a reputable producer, whose name guarantees the quality, and have nevertheless paid a somewhat lower price for the commodity.

While the writer does not fully explain the source of the surplus profit on which he figures, we may assume that it would come from a saving on the allowance for expenses,

which would, of course, have to be liberally estimated to provide an adequate margin of safety. The economic advantages of the plan are set forth as follows:

As we see, this project, seemingly so simple, assumes a considerable social and economic importance.

In our day the increase of population and the increased consumption due to the improved hygienic and material condition of the people have caused a tremendous advance in the price of the means of subsistence, even in the case of those of prime necessity. To-day not a single article of this kind is to be had at what we may call popular prices. Even the cheapest products, those consumed in the largest quantities, such as potatoes, vetches, oil, green vegetables and fruits, have become so dear in the larger cities that we can scarcely understand how a workingman's family

consisting, say, of eight or ten persons, can be provided with the requisite food.

To put within the reach of these poor families, whose situation is so painful, products of good quality, pure, wholesome and fresh, and save them even a few cents on the purchase, is a most useful task, as well from the view-point of national economy as from that of the public health, a most praiseworthy task, even though it may at the same time redound slightly to the advantage of the producers.

The management would be very simple, the commodities and the cash on hand represent at any given time the assets of the association, and the necessary control can easily be exercised when desired. What are the dangers? That the merchandise can be stolen, or can deteriorate in quality before being disposed of. But the first danger can be obviated with proper care by trustworthy watchers, and the second by a proper regulation of shipments, especially in the case of perishable wares.

THE I. W. W. AND REVOLUTION

A REMARKABLY frank and fearless article on the aim and function of the I. W. W. is contributed to the *Forum* by Frank Chester Pease, a member and organizer of the movement since its inception.

Referring to the I. W. W. convention of 1905, Mr. Pease declares that "for the first time a definite, conscious class movement of the proletariat toward revolution was launched upon the American continent." At that convention, he continues,

colonization schemes, propaganda by deed (that is, in the worn-out political assassination sense), "proletarian militarism" (!), communistic and coöperative associations, consumers' leagues, grangers' unions, craft unions, large union funds, "identity-of-interests" discipline, contracts, old-age pensions, stock-sharing, civic federations, and, not the least, political suffrage and "political action," were, once and for all, weighed and found wanting.

Henceforth, says the writer, in his vigorous style,

we Industrial Unionists are in a position to create a conscious revolutionary structure free from the contaminating influence of that scourge of the ages—the philanthropoid. We can now steer clear of those transient disciplines, instigated by the ruling class, known as "reforms"—that is, for just so long as we adhere to proletarian fundamentals, which are: abolition of the wage system, abolition of private ownership in social properties, abolition of an unearned increment—abolition, in short, of any and all social instrumentalities whereby the workers are made dependent on a ruling and possessing class. Departure from our strict class division, jockeying with passing innovations, such as alliance with or incorporation of institutions not founded in the spirit or for the purpose we

have outlined, means historic repetition—means failure.

As to what the I. W. W. is, this writer says: "It is an effort, not a social philosophy."

It is a secular movement of men, and not the rallying-ground of aspirants for a New Jerusalem. It is not a "cure-all." It is a new psychology, a new value-creating economic mechanism. It seeks economic control, for that is power. We have discovered that men are significant in proportion to the power they embody. Its militancy is more implacable, more potential, more aggressive than the ephemeral "programmes" with which idealists have tortured the proletariat hitherto. It is a recurrence of what Bergson calls "The Vital Impetus." It is the elemental instinct of life—especially proletarian life—namely, the automatism of a mechanical age.

The last invention of the race is the machine process. As long as this machine process is in the exclusive control of the ruling class, through the medium of ownership, the terms of its manipulation will necessitate militancy and organization on the industrial field exclusively. This is the function of the I. W. W.

One looks elsewhere for a clear-cut revolutionary movement which has done with compromise and experiment, but one looks in vain. In accord with the forms of economic development, we are after precisely what the Industrial State now possesses—industrial power. This is what revolution means to us. In such a revolution we see the possibilities of abolishing, once and for all, that historic institution, a ruling class. This is the function of the I. W. W.

No, "friends of revolution," we are not interested in a polyglot individualism, with its cults, isms, reforms, and "social uplifts." We are not interested in that agitation which shrieks for the "economic emancipation of woman," yet bids her scorn the union of her class. We are not interested in the individualizing of sweet souls in a death-grapple with their own inflated egotism—

the culturalists. Erotic drama is no concern of ours; nor are woman suffrage, muckraking, "progressive" or "revolutionary" politics matters of import. We are interested in the propagation of revolutionary economics, in the organization of the proletariat on strictly class lines for the *actual* control of industry, and the abolition of the wage system. This is our conception of revolution, nothing less.

If ours be pronounced a narrow, sinister creed, so be it. But it could not be more narrow nor more sinister than that of the industrial State whose god is profits, whose shibboleth is "scientific management," and whose juggernaut of exploitation crushes all it touches. The industrial State has produced a phenomenon more sinister than anything since gladiatorial Rome. This is that soulless, mindless manikin—the economic man.

His presence is an omen of darker social night than the imagination could depict; unless, through revolutionary mastery of his economic destiny, he shall attain self-mastery, and thereby throw off the deadly automatic discipline which the industrial State has imposed.

To accomplish this is the task of the revolution. It is the task which the I. W. W. has set itself. And so, ours is not a narrow or a sinister creed, but quite the opposite. In our autonomous form we are achieving the art of self-direction, than which there is no greater. In the practice of our code that "an injury to one is an injury to all," we derive the inspiration which springs from solidarity. In our struggles with the enemy we are recovering that long-lost instrument—power. Could anything bespeak more for the future of revolution?

A PROPOSED CURE FOR EPILEPSY

ONE by one the dragons of disease that beset afflicted humanity are being conquered by the gallant attacks of those modern St. Georges, the scientific investigators. Now the claim is put forward that at least there is a prospect not merely of relief, but of cure for that most formidable foe, epilepsy. The treatment and the theory of the cause of the malady on which it is based are set forth by Dr. Carl Ludwig Schleich in *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart, Heft 13, monthly).

Dr. Schleich believes this treatment will be found not only fitted to prevent the recurrence of epileptic attacks, but that it may give relief in some forms of insanity, and in cases of so-called double personality. His theory is certainly interesting, and deserves to be made widely known, to the end that it may be thoroughly tested by competent physicians.

He writes:

In the brain the blood, the lymphatic fluids, and the nervous elements work in unison. The nerve ganglions transmit the stimuli for motion and sensation, to which consciousness also belongs; the secretions yield the pulsing isolators, the inhibition apparatus for these electric currents. Yes, upon the uninterrupted sway of these inhibiting secretions depends the regular course of the intellectually actuated inner and outer life. Increased or decreased blood pressure, bloodlessness, alterations of the blood serum by admixtures of poisons and of abnormal products of metabolism cause the delicate machinery of the brain to be deranged in countless ways.

Swooning, frenzy, sleeping, dreaming, hallucination, peace, bliss—all are bound up with the harmonious or inharmonious interplay of the ganglion current and the secretion regulators. Imagine, now, this ebbing and flowing secretion mass of the brain, whose function is now to allow the flow of nervous energy and now to check it, much in the manner of the lock-gates of a canal, suddenly put out of commission. In a word—

coagulated. What will follow? All portions of the brain governed by the secretions involved will be cut off and thrown out of function; the current of all external stimuli, from a ray of light to a breath of wind, is unable to pass this point, and being dammed up here, it runs over, so to speak, and floods the paths not so cut off.

The consequence is a tremendous overflowing of the intact portions of the brain with waves of nervous stimulus: these cause convulsions in the centers of motion; in the intellect they occasion hallucination.

Dr. Schleich instances a German burgo-master who suddenly disappeared from home and was found months afterward, a private enlisted in the French army in Algiers. Similar cases of loss of identity and a double personality will occur to every reader of the daily papers. Dr. Schleich finds that these mysterious cases can be explained in the same manner as epileptic attacks.

He proceeds:

Epilepsy, therefore, has its ground in brain interferences of such nature that the unaffected area of the motive centers is thrown into violent activity, because at the moment of the gelatinization of the lymph all the stimuli which would otherwise be balanced, or "*compensated*," break over into the domain of the centers governing muscular action. . . .

Madness of some sort he considers similarly a sort of "epilepsy of the intellect," whose violent, convulsive, or disordered action is analogous to that of the muscles under excessive and uncompensated stimuli. "The consequence," he says, "is confusion, hallucination, fixed ideas, exaltation, frenzy, or melancholy."

But he bids us note that the so-called fixed idea has its seat in the part of the brain which remains sound; the location of the disease,

i. e., of the coagulation of the insulators, must be elsewhere.

Returning to the case of the vanished burgomaster, he declares him to have been subject to periodic attacks of coagulation of the brain lymph, which acts as a regulator of the nerve current.

"Such coagulation can occur suddenly, within a few seconds, as shown by experiment."

Having thus stated the cause, the writer proceeds to a discussion of the remedy. This is based on observation of another malady, that of *hemophilia*, whose victims are known as "bleeders," because, owing to the failure of their blood to clot, as does normal blood when exposed to air, it is difficult to check the flow even from a trifling cut.

In hemophiles, whose blood is lacking in the power to coagulate, no one has ever observed a case of epilepsy or what has been termed the "twilight state of mind." Moreover, I have never heard of mania, paralysis, or dementia among

such "bleeders." People whose secretions cannot coagulate are incapable of such mental affections. This is not a mere surmise, but an absolute fact.

Omitting a further discussion of double personality, we come to the proposed cure, which is said to have yielded admirable results.

A preparation called *krotalin* is known, a snake venom, which, even in the minutest doses, makes the blood incapable of coagulation. Turner in England, Spangler in America, Fackenheim in Cassel, have discovered it at about the same time, and—this is the most promising feature—used it as a remedy for epilepsy with the most admirable results. Numerous persons treated with it ceased entirely to be subject to epileptic attacks, because their blood had lost the power of clotting.

Thus experience brilliantly confirms the theory of the cause of epileptic attacks as a periodic coagulation of cerebral secretions.

Does not this open before us a prospect of new methods of conquest of all that is known as periodic madness?

HAY FEVER A FORM OF ANAPHYLAXIA

THE distressing symptoms of inflammation and redness of the nose, attended by an annoying discharge, and often accompanied by inflammation of the conjunctiva and even by fever and difficulty in breathing, which attack many persons in summer or early fall, and which are borne more or less resignedly as an attack of "hay fever," really indicate a serious susceptibility to a specific poison. This poison is contained in the grains of pollen from the various members of the grass family.

Such pollen-particles are borne far and wide on the breeze during the blossoming season and light upon the moist mucous membrane of eyes and nose. The violent irritation which they cause here is due to their content of minute quantities of an albuminous substance which acts as a poison to some individuals, though most persons readily resist it.

This special susceptibility to certain albumens has recently been recognized as a very serious matter and scientists have given it a distinctive title—anaphylaxia. It is because of this idiosyncrasy that some persons are poisoned by certain foods, such as strawberries, raspberries, currants, pineapples, or by oysters, crabs, Limburger cheese, etc.

Such cases, with special reference to hay fever, are discussed by Dr. L. Reinhardt in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart).

The very best remedy for avoidance of hay fever, as many sufferers recognize, is to fly before the grasses begin to bloom to some spot where such blossoming is unknown or scarce, such as Heligoland, the Upper Engadine, or localities in the United States which our readers will recall to mind.

Such desertion of homes, families, and business, however, is generally impracticable. Yet it is of grave importance to avoid an attack, not merely because of the attendant suffering and inconvenience, but because these poisons have the singular property of causing attacks which constantly *increase* in violence, instead of tending gradually to create a state of immunity, as is done by those of a different type.

Dr. Reinhardt consequently advises a medical immunization before the flowering time of the grasses commences.

He writes:

At present this is best secured by spraying with the solution of timothy-grass (*Phleum pratense*), first prepared by the two English physicians Noon and Freeman. A much simpler method, however, is merely to inhale *graminol* or some similar polyvalent hay fever "dry serum." This method is not so certain as the former, but has the advantage that it can be applied without a physician's aid.

Besides this active immunization, it is advisable for the patient to spend as much of his time as possible during the pollen-bearing season within a closed room.

For those whose business forces them to go abroad, however, he recommends the use of a nasal filter of cotton batting to arrest the pollen grains, or the greasing of the nostrils with some antiseptic salve, as one containing boric acid (Bormelin). The eyes can be protected by close-fitting automobile goggles.

If in spite of these precautions the nasal mucous membrane shows irritation, it is better to employ, instead of "bormelin," a boric salve containing adrenalin and cocaine, for whose use, however, a physician's prescription is necessary.

Mr. Otto Schultz, of Hanover, the president of the Heligoland Hay Fever League, has recently invented a special respirator consisting of a silver-gilt frame to be placed in the nostrils and holding a thin layer of cotton wadding saturated with menthol or some similar medicament. However, the mere insertion of loose wadding in the nostrils forms a very effective filter. Such a filter is also recommended for the similar ailments known as "horse-colds" and "railroad asthma," which are occasioned by minute particles of the horses's skin or of human skin. Tiny as these are, they are sufficient to allow an alien albumen to penetrate the mucous membrane and thus carry its potent poison into the circulation of the blood. Such

"colds" are attended by fever or headache, and, as in hay fever, the repetition of the attacks tends to increased susceptibility instead of to immunity.

This super-sensibility to foreign albumens, or *anaphylaxia*, is a very serious and, indeed, dangerous trait, which may have very grave or even fatal consequences for its victims in some circumstances. Thus there may be an anaphylaxia towards cow's milk, which may produce the most serious symptoms of poisoning in infants to whom it is given. If the attempt is repeated after some time, these symptoms become increasingly more acute, until death may follow the third or fourth attempt to force the food on the child.

Even so, there is an anaphylaxia towards egg-albumen, which most persons find quite unobjectionable. If the merest trace of white of egg be put on the tongue of such a person, the tongue reddens and swells; even the throat may become inflamed, and there may be difficulty of swallowing and vomiting.

In this connection the author cites an instructive case at law. A Munich firm placed a substance called *Puro* on the market, advertising it as a meat-albumen. Later they found it convenient to supplement their product by egg-albumen. Some of this was used by a person anaphylactic towards egg-albumen. This led to an investigation and a suit for damages against the firm for food adulteration, the outcome of which was an award of heavy damages.

VOLCANOES AND CLIMATE

PROBABLY there are few subjects on which scientific men are fonder of whetting their wits than the mystery of the Glacial Period—or rather Glacial Periods, for the geological record pretty clearly indicates that there were several of them. It is a dull year with the geologists, astrophysicists, and meteorologists that does not bring forth at least one new hypothesis to account for the astonishing vicissitudes of temperature that our earth appears to have undergone in the course of prehistoric æons. Not to enumerate all the more or less plausible guesses on this subject, mention may be made of Croll's eccentricity hypothesis (still strongly intrenched in the schoolbooks); the carbon dioxide hypothesis of Tyndall, Arrhenius, and others; the solar variation hypothesis, and the terrestrial elevation hypothesis.

Analogous to the great ice ages, each of which extended over hundreds of thousands of years, are the minor world-wide depressions of temperature of brief duration, many of which have occurred within historic times.

Perhaps these two classes of phenomena differ only in degree, not in character, and an explanation may be found that will fit them both. Such is the opinion of Prof. W. J. Humphreys, of the United States Weather Bureau, whose preliminary communication on this subject was one of the most impressive events of the last meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and who has just presented his novel theory in its entirety in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*.

Benjamin Franklin, who was a precursor in so many scientific fields, indulged in some ingenious speculations concerning the possible results of a remarkable fog—the most famous in history—that prevailed almost continuously over Europe and North America during the summer of 1783. This fog was plausibly attributed to a great volcanic eruption in Iceland, and had a feeble parallel in the persistent haze of the summer of 1912, due to volcanic dust from the eruption of Katmai. Many other great eruptions have

similarly obscured the air for longer or shorter periods. Franklin's sagacious observations are worth quoting:

During several of the summer months of the year 1783, when the effects of the sun's rays to heat the earth in these northern regions should have been the greatest, there existed a constant fog over all Europe, and great part of North America. This fog was of a permanent nature; it was dry, and the rays of the sun seemed to have little effect toward dissipating it, as they easily do a moist fog, arising from water. They were indeed rendered so faint in passing through it that, when collected in the focus of a burning-glass, they would scarce kindle brown paper. Of course, their summer effect in heating the earth was exceedingly diminished.

Hence the surface was early frozen.

Hence the first snows remained on it unmelted, and received continual additions.

Hence perhaps the winter of 1783-4 was more severe than any that happened for many years.

It seems worth the inquiry whether other hard winters recorded in history were preceded by similar permanent and widely extended summer fogs. Because, if found to be so, men might from such fogs conjecture the probability of a succeeding hard winter, and of the damage to be expected by the breaking up of frozen rivers in the spring, and take such measures as are possible and practicable to secure themselves and effects from the mischiefs that attend the last.

Franklin also recognized the possible volcanic origin of the fog, and thus was the first person, so far as we know, to advance a plausible hypothesis connecting volcanoes with climate. Nothing was known, however, in Franklin's day about ice ages. It remained for the naturalists, P. and F. Sarasin, in the year 1901, to add to the fifty-seven varieties of glacial hypotheses one which ascribed ice ages to the effects of volcanic dust in the atmosphere.

Now we come to the *crux* of the problem. To the everyday man it seems simple and obvious that a widespread veil of fine dust in the upper air—such as we know has persisted for months and years after certain great volcanic eruptions—would screen the earth beneath it from the rays of the sun, and thereby lower the temperature. To the physicist this is not so obvious. An impervious screen would prevent the escape of radiant heat from the earth, as well as its ingress from without. However, there is the question of the absorption and subsequent radiation of heat by the dust, and Professor Humphreys has shown (we shall take his word for the mathematical reasoning involved) that in virtue of this process alone a layer of dust in the upper atmosphere would actually make the earth somewhat warmer. (Science bristles with these paradoxes.)

It is no discredit to the cousins Sarasin that they were unable to offer a valid explanation of the climatic effects that they correctly ascribed to volcanic dust; for such an explanation—now for the first time presented by Professor Humphreys—depends upon certain principles of very recent discovery. Divested as far as possible of technicalities, it is as follows:

The earth receives energy from the sun in the shape of ether waves of various lengths, but predominantly short. Short waves do not become sensible as heat until they are converted into longer waves, and this happens through their absorption by the earth. The energy received by the earth is radiated back into space in waves of greater length, on an average, than those of the incoming radiations. Now, according to a principle discovered by Lord Rayleigh, fine particles of matter, such as grains of volcanic dust, are able to reflect or turn back the short waves coming from the sun, but not the long waves coming from the earth; the latter are scattered by the dust, but not reflected. In other words, a veil of fine dust is, according to Professor Humphreys' calculations, about thirty-fold more effective in shutting solar radiation out than it is in keeping terrestrial radiation in. This process is just the reverse of the familiar effect of the greenhouse, where the glass lets in the short solar radiations but does not let out the long earth radiations.

There is a great deal more to Professor Humphreys' explanation—which takes account of the rhythmical fluctuations in terrestrial temperature that appear to be associated with the sunspot period, the effects of increased dustiness in the atmosphere of the sun, the blanketing effect of ozone in the upper air, the reasons why volcanic dust remains suspended for so long a time above the earth, and so on. In the preceding paragraph, however, we have, in all probability, the master-key to the riddle of "the Great Ice Age" and its predecessors, as well as numerous minor depressions in the earth's temperature that were formerly inexplicable.

Professor Humphreys clinches his argument by enumerating all the great volcanic eruptions that have been recorded since 1750, and showing that each of them registered itself in the temperatures of the earth and (in recent years) in the accurately measured intensity of solar radiation.

Of course, it will naturally occur to one to ask about special cases, such as the cold years of 1783-4-5, and, in particular, 1816, the famous

"year without a summer," "poverty year," or "eighteen hundred and froze to death." The first of these, 1783-5, followed the great explosion of Asama in 1783, while the second, the "year without a summer," that was cold the world over, followed the eruption of Tomboro, which was so violent that 56,000 people were killed and "for three days there was darkness at a distance of 300 miles."

As to the prolonged epidemics of intense vulcanism that caused the ice ages we know very little, but that they have occurred from time to time in the remote past is evidenced by the geological record, quite independently of Professor Humphreys' hypothesis.

THE MINIMUM WAGE AND EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT

THE initial article in the September *Atlantic* is contributed by Professor John Bates Clark, of Columbia University, and deals with the minimum wage as a pending measure of economic reform in this country. Professor Clark goes farther than most American writers on this subject in that he assumes the unemployment of working people as a direct result of the enactment of minimum-wage laws, and further assumes the necessity of the State's stepping in and by emergency relief measures providing work for all persons thus thrown out of employment.

In the opening paragraph Professor Clark declares himself in sympathy, to a degree, with the appeal that is made to public feeling on behalf of the minimum wage. If, in every large city, he says, thousands of persons must continue to work hard and to get less than a living, the fact is an indictment of civilization. He accepts the dictum of Robertson that labor is "an economic merit," and "if a competitive system of industry necessarily starves many of its workers it is time to give to Socialism or some other plan of living a candid hearing." But Professor Clark contends that if the starving is due, not to the basic quality of the existing industrial order, but to a fault which can be remedied, the responsibility for it rests not on the system, as such, but on all of us in so far as we can control public action and remove the fault.

As to the expedient of legally fixing rates below which wages may not go, he holds that whoever intends to support such a law needs first to assure himself that the thing can be done and that, too, without causing more hardship than it remedies; "but it is more emphatically true that whoever will reject such a law will exhaust the power of study and research before concluding that it cannot be done without causing a balance of harm."

Pending the results of the practical test of this policy now in progress in Australia, New Zealand, England, and the United States,

we are assured in advance of a few things as necessarily true. One of these is that raising the prices of goods will, in the absence of counteracting influences, reduce sales. Another is that raising the rate of wages will, of itself, and in the absence of any new demand for labor, lessen the number of workers employed. Some of the minimum rates actually proposed would undoubtedly throw great numbers of persons into idleness.

Professor Clark contends, therefore, that the legitimacy of a minimum-wage policy depends on the rate of pay that the law requires. He admits that a certain low minimum rate may be clearly and wholly legitimate, and, moreover, that prescribing even this rate may have a very important effect in ruling out some of the hardest practices that now prevail. "In the absence of a strong trade union an employer may take advantage of the necessities of an individual employee and secure his or her labor at a rate that is distinctively below what it is worth as measured by the productive test. This fact affords the clearest justification of the principle of the trade union. Hunger discipline disqualifies the worker for making a successful bargain, and if the employer were everywhere at liberty to take men for what they may offer to work for him, he might get them for very little. If, when they became better fed, they should demand more, he might conceivably turn them off and replace them by others whom the discipline of starvation had made amenable to such treatment." Trade unions go far toward removing this evil, and in the absence of such unions the law might do it. If it placed the rate of wages at the level fixed by the productive power of the individual workers, it might not cause many to be discharged and it might raise the rate of pay for a larger number. It would thus change for the better what passes for the market rate of wages, provided that this market rate had been reduced by starving the candidates for employment, and yet it might not change the

legitimate market rate as determined by the productive power of the laborer himself.

If, however, the law goes much farther and fixes a minimum rate which is distinctively more than many workers are worth, it is self-evident that some will be discharged, and that they cannot be reemployed in the ordinary way unless they manage to acquire a greater productive power. Professor Clark postulates, first, that any legitimate rate above the value of labor to its employer will cause idleness; second, that the amount of idleness will be greater the higher the rate established; and, third, that any idleness created in this way and not relieved by natural causes will give to the workers an unanswerable claim on the State for emergency employment.

This brings us to Professor Clark's discussion of the claim on the State arising from unemployment. Mere need and helplessness, he maintains, give citizens a certain valid claim on the State, even though it has done nothing to cause their troubles. Privation that is traceable to social defects makes a more cogent claim. This, in fact, is the basis of the demand for minimum-wage laws, since the ill-paid workers are regarded as victims of social arrangements. Curing the evil, however, by laws that throw any class into idleness is causing suffering by a direct and purposeful act, and this suffering is more intense, though probably less widespread, than that which it causes.

If five dollars a week means privation for thousands, nothing per week would mean quick starvation for hundreds, and this might result from too radical a change of the minimum wage. If five dollars a week forces persons into vice, no wages at all would do it more surely and quickly; and here is a further claim upon the State which no one can for a moment question. Emergency relief needs to accompany the minimum-wage law, and effective measures for it must be ready to act the moment the law is passed. It will not do to discharge the workers and then debate the question as to how best to give them work. Moreover, such employment as we furnish should be such as self-respecting persons may properly accept.

It is conceivable that a minimum-wage law may do nothing more than correct the harsh action of competition and establish a rate corresponding with the existing productive power of labor. In that case no more persons may be thrown into idleness than the present agencies for relief can be made to care for. But, if a law should go far enough to make the required wage rate materially higher, a new and elaborate sys-

tem of relief would be demanded. Are we ready to establish it? Professor Clark asks. If not, we are not justified in enacting a law that will require it.

The situation, then, is briefly this: Minimum-wage laws are urgently demanded. If they greatly raise the present minimum, they will throw workers out of employment and make it far more difficult than it now is for them to find new places under private employers. Without efficient relief in readiness, the measure would amount to starving some of the workers in order to avoid half-starving the remainder. The relief system will need to be more extensive than any which has ever been afforded, and will need either to avoid or to overcome the opposition which has defeated efforts of this kind during business depressions.

Such a system of emergency employment must provide a living that is at least as good as that afforded by the worst wages now offered. At the same time, it must not offer attractions enough to allure the worker away from private employment. Finally, it must make products that would not be sold in the market in a way that will afford a basis for the accusation that wards of the State are competing with independent labor and reducing its pay.

Society certainly must secure more and more efficient production, and laborers particularly must have it. The sole hope for future comfort and modest luxury for the working class is dependence on the law of survival of productive methods and efficient managers. This tendency, whose remote effects give promise of translating all labor to a higher level of comfort, affords, by its nearer effects, the best promise of rescuing the workers who lose their places in consequence of the minimum wage law. The action of it, however, is at best gradual, and we are forced again to appeal to the State and ask it to furnish emergency employment. The State must do this on a scale that will suffice to provide for the number of laborers whom its wage law will displace. If its policy is very conservative—if it only legalizes a rate that a normal market would itself yield—the relief measures may not need to be planned on any radically new lines. If the law itself prescribes no minimum, but creates a commission with power to prescribe it for each particular occupation, there is ground for thinking that this commission may proceed in such a conservative way that its action will displace relatively few persons. If so, the system may do an unexpected amount of good and avoid a grave danger.

To displace many laborers and count on taking them into public employment would be hazardous, but displacing them with no such provision would be an inhumanity outclassing that which critics find in the present condition. As between such a Devil and a moderately deep sea of experiments in relief, the latter is preferable, but a wise conservatism will keep clear of perilous depths.

BOOKS ABOUT WORLD TOPICS

AN extraordinary book is Wilhelm Lamszus' "The Human Slaughter-House."¹ This is the story of a German civilian who, at the call to

The Real
Meaning of
War

mobilization, leaves his desk, his wife, and his children and marches out to war. With keen, merciless strokes the author strips all the deceptive glamor from war. He points out how mechanical invention has changed the "field of honor" into "the human slaughter-house." There is no longer "the brave setting of flashing eyes and glittering steel and the stirring clash of men at arms," but only "long-drawn-out fronts of flesh and blood opposed to automatic machinery and the triumphs of the mechanical laboratory." Dynamite dropped from aeroplanes flying by night, regiments wiped out by the pushing of an electric button—these are some of the triumphs of what Lamszus describes as "the war that is sure to come." The book has made a vivid impression on the mind of leaders in Germany and elsewhere on the continent. Within a few days of its publication, the author awoke to find himself famous, or infamous, according to the point of view, in his own country, and celebrated abroad. No less than eighteen European languages have conveyed the sentiments of his book to millions of readers. Lamszus was master in one of the great public schools. When his book appeared he was at once "relieved" of his duties. The primary duty of the schoolmaster in Germany, who is a State official, being to educate not only citizens, but future conscripts, it is, of course, nigh unto high treason for such a schoolmaster to write a book with a tendency "to strip the pomp and circumstance of war of its traditional glamor—war which is an integral factor in the German educational system." The sale of the book was prohibited in the town of its publication, the free city of Hamburg, a proceeding which had the effect of stimulating its sale elsewhere. Over 100,000 copies of the book were sold in Germany within a few months of its appearance. Lamszus is a patriot, he is a robust character, a trained gymnast, a member of the medical profession, and author of a book on the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, in which he glorifies war—for its real human national end. The English translation has been made by Oakley Williams, and there is an introduction by the English poet Alfred Noyes. In the "front matter," also, there is given a translation of a letter from Dr. A. Westphal, secretary of the "Commission for Education and Instruction" of the Universal Peace Congress, held at Geneva last year, thanking Herr Lamszus for having furnished the cause of universal peace with a weapon of considerable importance.

That there is an art as well as a science of history, and that this art consists in representing in any given field actions in their proper perspective—these are the bases of William Morton Fullerton's study of "international politics from Sadowa to Kirk-Kilissé," which he has entitled

Modern
World
History

¹ The Human Slaughter-House. By Wilhelm Lamszus. Translated by Oakley Williams. Stokes. 115 pp. 50 cents.

"Problems of Power."² Mr. Fullerton who was formerly traveling foreign correspondent of the London Times, and who is the author of a number of books on international relations, surveys the interrelations between the great powers of the world and analyzes the international situation from the standpoint of conscious national aims and political cross currents. Money, he starts out by saying, is the key to all history. "The plutocratic oligarchy of banker and business man" and the mysterious evasive force known as public opinion—"these two occult powers are now determining the destinies of the world." The book is divided into four parts. The first considers "world history from Sedan to the coup at Agadir"; the second, the domestic crises of the European states and the foreign policy of the powers; the third, economic factors affecting the political attitude of modern states; and the fourth, the present outlook.

Dr. M. V. B. Knox's story of "The Religious Life of the Anglo-Saxon Race"³ is not a church history. It aims to trace the progress of the religious factor in the advance of the English-speaking peoples. The History author, who is an educator as well as a clergyman, has not permitted ecclesiastical authorities to influence him unduly; that is, to the exclusion of secular historians and old chronicles, all having been made to contribute to the results of his research.

A really new contribution to the science of history is Frederick A. Woods' study of "The Influence of Monarchs."⁴ Dr. Woods who is lecturer in biology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and author of a former work entitled "Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty," takes the attitude that "only very rarely has a nation progressed in its political and economic aspects, save under the leadership of a strong sovereign." In proof of his contention he presents a comparison of the personalities of the European monarchs from the tenth century through the time of the French Revolution, "with the successive alterations in the material conditions of the different countries." In the appendix there is a brief tabulated recapitulation of the facts given in the volume.

Europe's
Rulers

Assuming that the British Empire is destined to continue to live, and also that it is very rapidly outgrowing its old form, the "Britannic" question (as formulated by Richard Jebb in his latest book⁵) is a problem of how to effect a closer and permanent union between the self-governing states. Mr. Jebb considers the so-called colonial question of Britain as affecting the home country as well as Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland. He believes that the moral ef-

Britain's
Colonial
System

² Problems of Power. By William Morton Fullerton. Scribners. 323 pp. \$2.25.

³ The Religious Life of the Anglo-Saxon Race. By M. V. B. Knox. Sherman, French. 536 pp. \$2.

⁴ The Influence of Monarchs. By Frederick A. Woods. Macmillan. 422 pp. \$2.

⁵ The Britannic Question. By Richard Jebb. Longmans, Green. 262 pp. 35 cents.

fect of the Borden naval aid bill in Canada was to precipitate imperial federation. He prefers to use the word *Britannic* rather than *British*, because he says the latter is restricted in its application to things related to the United Kingdom, whereas *Britannic* is imperial in its reach. Mr. Jebb believes that some sort of federation of all the administrative units of the British Empire is absolutely necessary unless "the Empire is to forego its glorious opportunity and future."

A new book on the Irish Home Rule question, entitled "The Truth About Home Rule," has been written by Pembroke Wicks, a young London barrister.¹ Mr. Wicks regards the present Home Rule bill as injurious to the welfare of Ireland and dangerous to the peace of the British Empire. He rather naively remarks, in the author's note, that the book has been written primarily for circulation in the United States of America. There is a pessimistic preface by Sir Edward Carson, leader in the House of Commons of the Irish opposition to Home Rule. Mr. Wicks' final judgment is that if the present Home Rule bill passes "two things are certain: there will be civil war in Ulster, and an end to public confidence, security, and credit throughout the rest of Ireland."

Three recent books on China and its dependencies which are worthy of note include "The Emergency in China," by Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott, of St. John's University, Shanghai (Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada); "The Big Game of Central and Western China" (illustrated), by Harold Frank Wallace (Duf-

field); and the third volume (illustrated) of Dr. Sven Hedin's "Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet" (Macmillan).

A new book on "Mexico, the Land of Unrest,"² by Henry Baerlein, formerly special correspondent of the London *Times* in Mexico City, and the author of a number of other books on historical and travel subjects, is particularly valuable as an account of what produced the outbreak of 1910, together with the complete story of the "revolutions" since that time. Mr. Baerlein says the Mexicans are children—"that explains the whole situation." He endeavors to show us, dispassionately, "the extraordinary charm and horror of the country, a land where tragedy is the companion of burlesque." The volume is copiously illustrated.

A series of "University and Historical Addresses," by former Ambassador James Bryce, have come out in book form.³ They include twenty of the more important addresses delivered by Mr. Bryce during the six years in which he represented Great Britain at Washington. They are in Mr. Bryce's well-known, clear, suggestive style.

For those who are interested in missions, there will be considerable of value in Dr. James S. Dennis' latest book, "The Modern Call of Missions: Studies in Some of the Larger Aspects of a Great Enterprise."⁴ Dr. Dennis lived for many years in the Near East, and he writes illuminatingly of the missionary problems of that region.

THE LORE OF THE FARM

POSSIBLY more books on farming are now coming from the press than ever before in our history. At any rate, it is clear that the leading publishing houses are giving more prominence to such books in their monthly lists than ever before.

We are speaking now, not particularly of the technical works on agriculture, but of the books designed for general circulation and intended to be read by all classes of the community, non-farmers as well as farmers. Within recent months there have appeared several books dealing more especially with the business side of farm management. One of these, "The Farmer of To-Morrow," by Frederick Irving Anderson,⁵ gives a lucid exposition of farm bookkeeping, and while basing its arguments altogether on the most familiar facts in American agriculture, makes a startling showing of the actual economic significance of present farming conditions in this country. Among the topics treated in this interesting volume are "The Farmer of Yesterday," "The Dry Lands and the Forests," "The Division of

Soils and the Specialization of Crops," "The Bookkeeping Theory of Soil Fertility," "The Soil as an Immutable Asset," and "Soil Sanitation." The writer shows his acquaintance with divergent theories put forth by the soil experts and uses good judgment in gathering from the output of each scheme the salient and essential truths.

In "The Call of the Land," Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews brings together a number of writings and addresses on popular topics of special interest to farmers.⁶ One of these, "The Passing of the Federal Pasture," was originally written for the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for January, 1903.

Passing to the problems of animal husbandry, we are reminded by the late Professor John A. Craig's "Sheep-Farming in North America"⁷ of the many phases through which this important industry has passed in the last half-century. Many books upon sheep have emphasized wool production, but in the present work the sheep is considered as having an important place in attempts at stock-farming, and it is thus addressed to the general farmer rather than to the wool-grower. Professor Craig had the chair of animal husbandry

¹ The Truth About Home Rule. By Pembroke Wicks. Small, Maynard. 313 pp., ill. \$1.25.

² Mexico, the Land of Unrest. By Henry Baerlein. Lippincott. 461 pp., ill. \$3.75.

³ University and Historical Addresses. By James Bryce. Macmillan. 433 pp. \$2.25.

⁴ The Modern Call of Missions. By James S. Dennis. Revell. 341 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ The Farmer of To-Morrow. By Frederick Irving Anderson. Macmillan. 308 pp. \$1.50.

⁶ The Call of the Land. By E. Benjamin Andrews. New York: Orange Judd Co. 335 pp., ill. \$1.50.

⁷ Sheep-Farming in North America. By John A. Craig. Macmillan. 302 pp., ill. \$1.50.

at the University of Wisconsin and in the Iowa State College, and was director of the Agricultural Experiment Stations in the States of Texas and Oklahoma.

In the series of "Lippincott's Farm Manuals," "Productive Swine Husbandry" is the subject of a volume prepared by Professor George E. Day, of the Ontario Agricultural College.¹ It has been the author's twofold purpose in this volume to prepare a work which will serve as a text-book for agricultural students, and to place at the disposal of the busy farmer a reference book which will give, in concise form, the findings of the best experiment stations in regard to the problems of the successful handling of swine. The illustrations of the volume are to be especially commended.

A new edition of Professor Henry H. Wing's "Milk and Its Products" ("The Rural Science

Series") contains chapters on dairy cattle and the production of milk, on certified milk, and on ice-cream manufacture.² Furthermore, such changes have been made as were necessary to bring the body of this standard work up to date.

A book of curious interest to the present-day farmer is "Roman Farm Management," comprising the treatises of Cato and Varro, translated

The Ancient Roman Farmer with notes by a Virginia farmer.³ Reading some passages of these famous treatises, one can hardly believe that they were written for "other times and other manners" than our own. Indeed, we suspect that the average American farmer would find in these classics not a little of the farm lore which has come down to him as a heritage from past generations, but which he has not been accustomed to associate with the ancients.

SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

A PECULIARLY keen analysis of Marxian Socialism is put forth by Dr. Simkhovitch, of Columbia University, in a volume significantly entitled "Marxism Versus Socialism,"⁴ the point of the title being that Marx's whole system of Socialism is based on his interpretation of economic tendencies, which are admittedly wholly different to-day from what Marx expected them to be. Dr. Simkhovitch argues, therefore, that from the standpoint of Marx's own economic theory, Socialism is to-day impossible.

The Jews of To-Day" is the title of a sociological study of the Hebrew race the world over, by Dr. Arthur Ruppin.⁵ This is a scholarly discussion of the distinctive nationality, culture, intellectual and artistic achievements, and ethical and religious standards of the Jews. The translation, by Margery Bentwich, is from the German, in which the work has for some time been a recognized authority. An introduction is furnished by Dr. Joseph Jacobs.

Very little, apparently, is known of the real aims and work of the alleged Spanish anarchist, Francisco Ferrer, who was executed at Barcelona in 1909. It is a study of his own life which is contained in the book "The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School," written by Ferrer a little before his death, and now translated by Joseph McCabe.⁶ Ferrer's school system was rationalistic, antimilitaristic and socialistic, and it soon incurred the bitter animosity of the conservatives and clericals of Spain. Just what Ferrer's ideas were are shown in this book, which is written with unusual clarity of style.

At this time, when there is unusual interest in the question of workmen's compensation and the prevention of industrial accidents, the American reading public is indebted to Dr. William H. Tolman, of the American Museum of Safety, and to Leonard B. Kendall, for the first comprehensive work on "Safety" that has appeared in the English language.⁷ This book describes methods for preventing occupational and other accidents and disease. It is a handbook of practical information designed for the use of everyone, whether employer or employee, who is interested in industry. To quote a sentence from the preface: "It shows how big business can be good business, in surrounding the workers with the adequate safeguards to protect them at work and in promoting the essentials of shop hygiene." The authors contend that 50 per cent. of industrial accidents are preventable, and, in support of the contention, give various examples from actual prevention work in the shops and plants of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Midvale Steel Works, and the United States Steel Corporation, where the reduction of serious shop accidents last year was 63 per cent., 61 per cent., and 45 per cent., respectively.

A most useful contribution to the current widespread discussion of the health of children has been made by Frances Williston Burks and Jesse D. Burks, director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, in a volume entitled "Health and the School: A Round Table."⁸ This book takes the form of a series of conferences in which parents, teachers, the physician, the trained social worker, and the successful business man take part, and in which various investigations and reforms are described, each one of which, the authors assert, has actually taken place in some town, while every statistical item reported has been secured through actual investigation in vari-

¹ Productive Swine Husbandry. By George E. Day. Lippincott, 330 pp., ill. \$1.50.

² Milk and Its Products. By Henry H. Wing. Macmillan, 433 pp., ill. \$1.50.

³ Roman Farm Management: Treatises of Cato and Varro Translated by A Virginia Farmer. Macmillan, 365 pp. \$2.

⁴ Marxism Versus Socialism. By Vladimir G. Simkhovitch. Holt, 298 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ The Jews of To-Day. By Arthur Ruppin. Holt, 310 pp. \$1.75.

⁶ The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School. By Francisco Ferrer. Translated by Joseph McCabe. Putnam, 147 pp. \$1.

⁷ Safety Methods for Preventing Occupational and Other Accidents and Disease. By William H. Tolman and Leonard B. Kendall. Harpers, 422 pp., ill. \$3.

⁸ Health and the School: A Round Table. By Frances Williston Burks and Jesse D. Burks. Appleton, 393 pp. \$1.50.

ous cities and States. The method adopted by this book may very well serve as a suggestion for procedure to groups of interested citizens who may be inspired to begin active campaigns for the improved health of school children in their respective communities.

Some of the practical hygienic requirements of school life, with suggestions as to how such requirements may be put in practice, are set forth in a volume, "School Hygiene," by Dr. Fletcher B. Dresslar, of the United States Bureau of Education.¹ The reader soon discovers that Dr. Dresslar has prepared his book less with reference to ideals of school hygiene and sanitation than to the actual limitations under which teachers and school officers are compelled to act, especially in rural districts. Although marked progress has been made within recent years, our school buildings the country over are still deplorably defective in many of the rudimentary points of sanitary construction. Teachers may get from Dr. Dresslar's book many helpful suggestions.

A well-considered discussion of the reasons for including various specific subjects in courses of study in elementary schools is offered in a little book entitled "What Children Study and Why," by Charles B. Gilbert, formerly superintendent of schools of St. Paul, Minn., Newark, N. J., and Rochester, N. Y.² In discussion of relative educational values in the school curriculum, much will be gained if the various subjects are so analyzed as to show in what way the study of them is of benefit to the children. This, at least, is accomplished by Mr. Gilbert in his book. He opens up the whole matter to teachers in a clear and forceful way and offers practical suggestions for remedying certain obvious defects in educational practice.

Dr. Maria Montessori, the Italian educator, originator of the method of instructing small children which is called by her name, about which there has been so much discussion during the past few years, has attempted to define the new science of "Pedagogical Anthropology." Under this impressive title she has written a book which shows the deepest scientific research and culture.³ This volume, which consists of a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Montessori in the University of Rome during the past four years, has been translated by Dr. Frederic Taber Cooper. They show the foundations of the Montessori idea. Anthropology, says Dr. Montessori, "hitherto has been based on the study of man, with a view to his origin. Pedagogical anthropology studies humankind with a view to future development." The book is illustrated with diagrams and types of face and form. In one of the chapters on crani-

ology, Dr. Montessori, in answering the question, "Who is socially superior?" gives it as her belief that "the reign of woman is approaching when the enigma of her anthropological superiority will be deciphered. Woman was always the custodian of human sentiment, morality and honor, and in these respects man has always yielded her the palm."

The wonderful story of the Robert Browning Settlement, in Walworth, borough of Southwark, London, which is now in its nineteenth year under the able guidance of the Rev. F. Herbert Stead, is told in a small illustrated volume entitled "Eighteen Years in the Central City Swarm."⁴ The district in which the Robert Browning Settlement does its work is the most densely populated parliamentary division in London. The manifold activities of the settlement, increasing from year to year, are graphically described in this modest record. Mr. Stead, who holds the official title of warden of the settlement, is a brother of the late W. T. Stead, of the *London Review of Reviews*.

After many years of heated discussion of the trust question, we are only now beginning to get from economic authorities scientific analyses of these phenomena in modern industrial life. Such a work is "Business Organization and Combination," by Professor Lewis H. Haney, of the University of Texas.⁵ While the author has designed his book for use in American colleges and universities, he has at the same time kept in mind the needs of the business man and the general reader. To make his treatment of greater service to all classes of readers, the author has incorporated in his work a large mass of up-to-date illustrative data in the form of concrete descriptions of existing business organizations. The life-history of a corporation is set forth in a series of chapters which describe, in some detail, the main events: promotion, underwriting, reorganization, and the like. In the latter part of the work there is an attempt at a comprehensive and scientific solution of the question of public policy in dealing with corporations. The chief suggestion offered is in the direction of a new form of organization—a limited liability association to occupy the gap between the partnership and the corporation.

Dr. Norris A. Brisco's volume, "Economics of Business,"⁶ deals specifically with the various modern types of business organizations, principles of management, problems of cost accounting, labor efficiency, advertising, buying and selling. The author has made use of data supplied by successful business men who have recounted their own experiences and has pointed out the methods by which the principles of successful business management may be applied in specific cases.

¹ School Hygiene. By Fletcher B. Dresslar. Macmillan. 369 pp., ill. \$1.25.

² What Children Study and Why. By Charles B. Gilbert. Silver, Burdett & Co. 331 pp. \$1.50.

³ Pedagogical Anthropology. By Maria Montessori. Stokes. 508 pp., ill. \$3.50.

⁴ Eighteen Years in the Central City Swarm. By Rev. F. Herbert Stead. London: W. A. Hammond. 208 pp., ill. 50 cents.

⁵ Business Organization and Combination. By Lewis H. Haney. Macmillan. 483 pp. \$2.

⁶ Economics of Business. By Norris A. Brisco. Macmillan. 390 pp. \$1.50.

ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY

A NEW and noteworthy book of essays, "Voices of To-Morrow," by Edwin Björkman, includes philosophical, literary studies of August Strind-

Great Truth Seekers
 berg, Björnsterne Björnson, Selma Lagerlöf, Francis Grierson, Edith Wharton, Maurice Maeterlinck, Henri Bergson, George Gissing, Joseph Conrad, and Robert Herrick. Throughout these essays, Mr. Björkman, in direct, illuminating style, points out a constantly recurring note; all of these great souls who have peered into the future show a tendency to find truth on both sides of disputed questions. This "tendency to fuse ideas and currents hitherto held irreconcilably opposed" Mr. Björkman finds to be the principal mark of the period on which the world has just entered.

An impressive, thought-provoking work on the possible formulation of a future religious idea for mankind is entitled "The World Soul," by H. Fielding-Hall.² Science, the author reminds us, has been seeking a world soul. He finds it in the world and in matter, not behind them. There are some startling disagreements with the fundamental, conventional ideas of Christianity. Nevertheless, the author and publisher combine in maintaining that "this book will be welcomed by those who have not found satisfaction in the theologies and philosophies of the day."

"The Psychology of Laughter," by Professor Boris Sidis, of Harvard,³ has not only value but charm. If, as seems probable, it has been more or less prompted by Professor Bergson's "Laughter" it has succeeded where most such sequels fail—that is in surpassing the work meant to be surpassed. Valid and valuable as were the theories worked out by the French philosopher, they fell short of the final explanation of all phenomena connected with laughter. This explanation Professor Sidis has found in his principle that "laughter arises from the consciousness of our superiority," and in the complementary principle that "at the basis of all the ludicrous we find present relations of inferiority." To him "laughter comes not out of economy but out of abundance." It means a release of surplus energy. Turning from life to literature, he maintains the equality of comedy with tragedy both esthetically and ethically. "Like tragedy," he says, "comedy sounds the depth of the human reserve energy of which man in his every-day life remains entirely unaware."

A new biographical study of Oscar Wilde, by Arthur Ransome,⁴ is written with the steadiness and justice not only of the well-trained mind of an Estimate a journalist, but also with the penetration of a well-balanced critic. Despite the failures and shortcomings of his life, Wilde, says Mr. Ransome, "touched nothing that he did not decorate."

In a beautifully illustrated volume entitled "Seeing Nature First,"⁵ Clarence M. Weed, the author of several popular nature books, groups Nature's Beauties Close at Hand in the order of the procession of the seasons various sketches of things that are to be seen in our woods and fields, and which, it is to be feared, are as little known and understood by most of us as the larger scenic wonders of America are known and understood by those Americans who go abroad every year for the sake of "the scenery."

Interest in Jacob Leisler as an historical character of early New York was recently revived through the pageant presented at New Rochelle in commemoration of the 225th anniversary of the founding of that community, to which Leisler had made a gift of lands. A statue of Leisler, by Solon H. Borglum, has been placed in the grounds of the Huguenot Association at that place. In this connection a play, by William O. Bates, which depicts the more picturesque episodes in Leisler's career, is of timely interest.⁶ In an introductory note Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, a careful student of the period, endorses the historical accuracy of Mr. Bates' work and expresses the hope that his drama will make the story of this interesting American more familiar to the Americans of to-day.

"Who's Who in Japan for 1913," the second edition of the work,⁷ shows improvement over the first, which was noticed in these pages last year. The editor, S. Kurita, announces that it is the policy of this and of future editions to include the names of as many as possible distinguished foreigners resident in Japan. In future editions, also, eminent Koreans will be considered. "Who's Who in Japan" is a valuable addition to the reference libraries.

It is not customary to include in this department of the REVIEW notices of technical publications; it seems proper, however, to make an exception in the case of a new work in the field of engineering practice devoting, as its title indicates, to "Regulation, Valuation and Depreciation of Public Utilities."⁸ This compact treatise of 300 pages, by Samuel S. Wyer, M.E., of Columbus, Ohio, contains a remarkable fund of information on a subject that is rapidly coming into prominence both within and without the engineering profession, especially in connection with the various inquiries and investigations going on at present in American cities and rural communities, all of which require precisely the kind of expert knowledge which has heretofore been a rare commodity in this country and to which Mr. Wyer's book may serve as a practical guide.

⁵ Seeing Nature First. By Clarence M. Weed. Lippincott, 509 pp., ill. \$1.50.

⁶ Jacob Leisler: A Play of Old New York. By William O. Bates. Mitchell Kennerley. 248 pp. \$1.50.

⁷ Who's Who in Japan for 1913. Edited by Shunjiro Kurita. Tokyo, Japan: Who's Who in Japan Office. 134 pp., ill. \$3.00.

⁸ Regulation, Valuation and Depreciation of Public Utilities. By Samuel S. Wyer. Columbus, Ohio: The Sears & Simpson Company. 313 pp., ill. \$5.00.

¹ Voices of To-Morrow. By Edwin Björkman. Kennerley. 328 pp. \$1.50.

² The World Soul. By H. Fielding-Hall. Holt. 312 pp. \$2.75.

³ The Psychology of Laughter. By Boris Sidis. Appleton. 330 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ Oscar Wilde. By Arthur Ransome. Mitchell Kennerley. 234 pp. 50 cents.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

ALTHOUGH every one familiar with even the rudiments of general finance is well aware that United States Government bonds are wholly unrelated to the subject of private investment, nevertheless the interest and curiosity which private investors take in these securities are at all times remarkable. Financial editors of newspapers and magazines often receive letters from persons in remote localities wanting to know if Government obligations are not the safest bonds obtainable. Often the recipients are astonished at the frank tone of these letters. "I am willing to content myself with only 2 or 3 per cent.," they say in substance, "if only I can be sure of absolute safety."

"Will you please tell me if United States Government bonds are considered safe," writes a woman from Colorado; "what interest they pay; whether I could sell them at a bank at any time, and where I can get them."

There come periods when nearly all forms of investment fall under a cloud. A long series of failures and bankruptcies caused by over-expansion and a lack of working capital undermine faith in nearly all securities, just as at times banks come under suspicion, and hoarding of money results. The mental attitude of investors is shown by such remarks as: "How can I tell what is safe?" "Perhaps I would be better off if I spent my savings for an automobile, and then I would at least get some return for my money." At such times men and women begin to ask about Government bonds, only to be told that it would be foolish to buy securities returning so little in the way of income.

The United States of America has outstanding about \$1,142,000,000 of bonds and only some \$212,000,000 of these are owned by investors. Large numbers of those classed as investors are really banks and institutions, so it cannot be said that the individual has much stake in his country's funded debt. The force of this statement is made even stronger when we realize that many individuals who own United States bonds lend them to banks and thus receive interest in addition to what the Government pays. A careful analysis of several great estates, the detailed holdings of which have recently be-

come public through the death of several of America's richest men, does not disclose, except in the single case of Joseph Pulitzer, any holdings of Government bonds. The reason for this state of things is clear and explicit, but the fact remains that small investors time and again ask about United States bonds before reluctantly turning elsewhere to others.

Government bonds are secured by nothing but a people's honor, but in the case of nations like England, France, Germany, and the United States that is a very great deal. There is something impressive and solid about an entire country's obligation to pay. Confidence of investors in this particular nation's honor is strongly fortified by a more prosaic but certainly important safeguard, namely, that the country is more than able to meet its obligations because of its unimpaired resources, financial, agricultural, and industrial. The United States also has a peculiar distinction in that it pays off its debts when they come due, unlike several other great nations. Economists debate the question whether it was wise for the United States to pay off its huge Civil War debt so soon, instead of leaving part of the burden to future generations. Recovery from depression would have been more rapid had not this huge debt been paid, but on the other hand the country's credit was greatly enhanced by its prompt action. Then, too, nearly everyone knows that a Government bond is about the only kind of security upon which a bank will lend up to practically its full value. In time of panic no other security will so nearly hold its own. In 1893 and 1907 the average extreme fluctuation of Governments was 5 and 5.7 points, while for the better class of railroad and municipal bonds the variation was from twice to four times as great.

Of \$1,142,449,470 United States bonds, \$642,327,050 bear only 2 per cent. interest. These have sold as high as 109½, and until recently never fell below 100. On a strict investment basis they are worth around 70, roughly speaking. The high prices which have prevailed for all United States bonds have, of course, been due to the fact that the great bulk of these issues have been owned

or borrowed by national banks to use as legal security for note issues or for deposits of Government money. For many weeks headlines on the financial page, and even on the front pages, of newspapers, told of little else than the decline in Government issues. This decline finds its explanation in certain provisions of the Owen-Glass Currency bill, designed to reduce the use of these bonds for currency purposes. Perhaps by the time this article is printed dispute over this subject will have been adjusted. The questions involved are related to banking, broad public policy and politics. They have little directly to do with private investment, although the status of one of the largest and most important security issues in the world is the subject of acrimonious debate on the part of high Government officials and bankers. Perhaps daring operators of the plunging type are inclined to sell Governments short, but the Stock Exchange frowns upon such practices. Generally speaking, no ordinary investor, in his senses, would buy Governments with their status so unsettled, although if it were not for this disturbance many other securities are now so lacking in confidence that it is just the time when Government bonds should most attract the timid. For such are content with the smallest return provided the principal is secure beyond all question.

Fortunate, both from a banking and investment point of view, will be the day when United States bonds are stripped of all artificial support. For when they once sink in price to yield, say, between $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4.10 per cent. (no human being can now figure their exact selling price), then there will be

an investment in which the public will have absolute confidence at all times and which will be available to all persons in small denominations. Only a war of great magnitude could seriously depress its value.

TEMPORARY INVESTMENT

The Government bond situation is unquestionably interesting at this juncture, but most people with money do not own these bonds, cannot afford to buy them, and ought not to buy them. The opinion expressed in this column a month ago that the highest class of railroad mortgage bonds had reached bargain prices does not require any amendment, except that there has been a very slight upward movement in the last few weeks. Since the August issue appeared numbers of banking firms have called graphic attention to the same condition of affairs.

But there are always persons who prefer to wait. There are always those who believe that even the best of stocks will go lower. To such and to those who for business or personal reasons do not want to tie up their funds for long there are exceptional opportunities presented in the one-year note issues of the Northern Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad companies. These notes are to be had to yield slightly above 6 per cent. In one case the notes are followed by \$248,000,000 of stock paying 7 per cent., and in the other by \$272,672,405 of stock paying 6 per cent. That other opportunities of a similar nature may soon be afforded is not improbable. Anyone who questions the safety of these investments had better place his savings in an old stocking and stop reading the financial news columns.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 475. A TIME TO SATISFY DISCRIMINATING INVESTMENT TASTE

I have eight or ten thousand dollars I think I would like to put into good bonds. I would like to have my money pay me 5 per cent., if I can feel secure about the principal. Can you suggest the kind of bonds for me. I know a good many men who sell bonds, but they all have special issues. What do you think of American Can 5 per cent. bonds?

The American Can 5's are debentures of good quality, as industrial issues of that type go, but we do not believe they can be considered strictly conservative investments. A part of the funds of a business man might go into them to help raise the average of the net income on the entire investment. Present opportunities in the markets are such as to make it possible to satisfy the most discriminating investment taste and at the same time afford an income averaging around 5 per cent. Railroad bonds—standard listed issues of

the highest order—can be had to net all the way from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. Take, for example, the recent issue of Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul $4\frac{1}{2}$'s—bonds that are legal investments for savings banks and trustees in New York State; they are obtainable at a little under par, to net a fraction over $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. A sound investment issue of the short-term variety, namely, the Pennsylvania $3\frac{1}{2}$'s of 1915, are selling on a basis of better than $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. And bonds like the Rock Island Railway refunding 4's—another legal issue in New York State—are on a better than a 5 per cent. basis. With a surplus of the size you mention, we do not presume you will want to confine yourself to railroad or industrial securities. A division of the money among them and high-grade public utility bonds would give you a first-class arrangement. The best of the latter type are handled as the specialties of certain of the big,

responsible investment banking houses. We note that you have been inclined to be skeptical about buying bonds from anyone who had special issues to sell, but when you come to investigate, you will find that that is the only way you can get a desirable selection of public utility issues. Very, very few such bonds find their way onto the exchanges or into the general markets. And there are a good many banking firms in dealing with which we do not believe you would be justified in feeling any doubt as to the fairness of the treatment accorded you.

No. 476. A SUGGESTION ABOUT WESTERN INVESTMENTS

Can you advise me as to the best investment for \$2000 to give me the most semi-annual income. I want it to be sure, so I can feel at ease, but if the income is sufficient I do not care how the principal is tied up. Would an annuity be satisfactory? I am planning to go to California to live and want all the income I can get to help me take life easier. As I am inexperienced I need advice.

We do not know of any surer way to provide a steady income than to take out an annuity in some strong life insurance company, but we are wondering if you are aware that such investment is more adapted to the requirements of people who have no one dependent upon them, or no one for whose future it seems necessary or desirable to make provision. You understand, of course, that upon the death of the annuitant the principal of the investment disappears entirely. As an alternative to that method of investment, we might suggest some plan like the division of your money between a first-class mortgage in one of the Western or Pacific Coast States and a high-grade public-service corporation bond secured on property situated within the State of California. On the mortgage investment you should be able, without a great deal of difficulty, to obtain as much as 6 per cent. income, and you might, by careful selection, get as much as seven with a high degree of safety. On the public utility bond investment, the income would run from 5 to $5\frac{1}{4}$ or $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and if you selected some such security as we have suggested you would be exempt from the payment of the personal property tax on your investment in the State. If these suggestions appeal to you, it would be advisable for you to get in direct touch with some of the responsible mortgage dealers and investment banking houses making a specialty of public-service corporation securities.

No. 477. AMERICAN PIANO PREFERRED

I have owned a few shares of American Piano stock for about three years, and have not failed to receive promptly the stipulated dividends. The annual statements indicate a solvent condition for the company, but the stock is now offered at a low figure. I am tempted to buy five or six shares more, but realize that there must be some reason for the low price. Will you please enlighten me on this and inform me whether the chances are in favor or against the stock ultimately going to par. Should I buy, it would be for income purposes. Nevertheless, I should prefer to leave the money in the savings bank rather than risk the principal for an increase in interest.

The weakness in the market for these shares that has been more or less marked during the last few months is to a considerable extent attributable to the generally unsatisfactory market conditions prevailing, not only for stocks of all kinds, but even for seasoned bonds. But it is also, to some extent, a reflection of a less satisfactory showing of earnings made by the issuing company. This was especially marked in 1911,

for which year the results indicated a margin of safety for the preferred dividends which was by no means characteristic of a strictly investment stock. During the following year the showing was better, but left a good deal of room for improvement. No later figures are available on which to judge the company's present position, and we should consider it prudent to wait until it is known how business has run during the last year of operation before making further commitments in the stock. One point to consider in connection with a proposition of this nature is that the product of manufacture is more in the nature of a luxury, and on that account scarcely to be expected to have the stable market that would be characteristic of a commodity entering into the daily use of the general consuming public.

No. 478. A CRITICISM OF ONE WOMAN'S INVESTMENT SELECTIONS

Will you please tell me whether United States Steel common would be a safe investment for a few hundred dollars; or Chesapeake & Ohio. They are both low in price. Is Southern Railway preferred a good stock for a woman to invest in?

In answering questions about investment matters, and particularly in cases where stocks of this kind are involved, we like to know a great deal more about the prospective purchaser's circumstances than you tell us in your brief communication. As a general proposition, however, we should not consider these stocks as proper securities for a woman to put money into. Among the three issues mentioned, the choice seems to us to lie between Southern Railway preferred and United States Steel common. But even these are stocks which fluctuate pretty widely in market value, and which have characteristics making them more suited to people who have fairly large resources, and who are in position to keep in more or less close touch all the time with developments in the affairs of the issuing companies and with general conditions affecting security prices.

No. 479. MARKETABILITY OF SMALL-DENOMINATION BONDS

I should like to have you tell me how readily small bonds may be sold. What little money I have to make a start with is now in a savings bank, and, of course, is readily available. I do not want to invest my money in anything where it would not be available, without loss in, say, a month or two. In other words, are these small bonds readily salable, and would I be able in a short time to sell \$1000 or \$2000 worth without sacrifice?

Small bonds may be very much more readily sold now than formerly, but it looks as though there would have to be a still more comprehensive development of the small-investment account before they will enjoy as satisfactory a market as those which are issued in standard denominations of \$1000. But practically everything would depend upon the kind of bonds you bought. For instance, if you were to put your money into \$500 bonds like the Pennsylvania convertible $3\frac{1}{2}$'s of 1915, the chances are that you would be able to sell at a satisfactory price at short notice on any business day of the year; whereas, if you put your money into some small and relatively little known public service corporation issue, you might not be able to find a satisfactory market for days, or perhaps weeks, at a time. This situation prevails, of course, in the market for \$1000 bonds, but it is not as noticeable there as in the market for small-denomination issues.